

Edited by DAVID W. SWIFT

Contributors

NATHAN HARE

BENJAMIN J. HODGKINS

CLARA SUE KIDWELL

IRVING KRAUSS

JACK LONDON

WILLIAM NOLAN

BRUCE REINHART

DAVID W. SWIFT

LOIS SWIFT

ELDON L. WEGNER

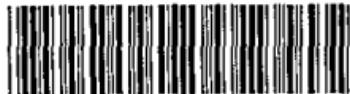
ROBERT WENKERT

JAMES L. WOOD

AMERICAN EDUCATION

A Sociological View

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PART I INTRODUCTION 1

The Approach of this Book	2
Education in Modern Societies	4
Functions of Education	4
Educational Trends	6
Conclusion	10

**PART II THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION
OF AMERICAN EDUCATION 13**

1. Public Elementary and Secondary Schools	<i>David W. Swift</i>	17
Introduction	17	
Organizational Problems	20	
School Personnel	34	
Proposals for Reform	41	
Conclusions	49	

2. Catholic Education	<i>Benjamin J. Hodgkins</i>	61
Development of Catholic Education		62
Structure		66
Inputs		73
Outputs		79
Problems of Catholic Education Today		81
The Future of Catholic Schools		84
3. The Community College	<i>William Nolan and David W. Swift</i>	97
Characteristics		97
Functions		102
Students		108
Faculty		118
Administrators		124
Typical Response		127
Conclusions		131
4. Undergraduate Education	<i>Irving Krauss</i>	139
Societal Change, Institutional Goals, and Public Involvement		140
The Purpose of Higher Education		142
Today's Colleges and Collegiates		146
Marginality, Mobility, and Mass Education		165
Some Immodest Proposals		173
5. Graduate Education	<i>Eldon L. Wegner</i>	187
Why Graduate Schools Exist		189
Who Attends Graduate School		200
Graduate Schools		210
The Graduate Program		215
Conclusion		228
6. Adult Education. Definition, Description, and Analysis	<i>Jack London and Robert Wenkert</i>	235
The Invisibility of Adult Education		236
Historical and Comparative Reflections		237
Parameters of Adult Education		240
The Ambiguous Distinction Between Formal and Adult Education		245
Patterns of Adult Education Participation		248
The Learning Force and the Labor Force		250
The Functions of Adult Education		252
Recent Developments		255
Conclusions		260

7. Vocational Education *Bruce Reinhart* 271
Development in the United States 271
Vocational Education Defined 274
The Increasing Importance of Vocational Education 276
Social Stratification and Vocational Educators 277
Student Allocation 281
Struggles for Control 282
Assessments and Predictions 285
- PART III THE EDUCATION OF MINORITIES 295**
- Historical Background 297
Failure of Compensatory Programs 299
8. Black Education *Nathan Hare and David W. Swift* 303
History of Black Education 305
Black Education Today 309
One Pupil's Experience 313
Black Studies 319
Processes and Predictions 325
9. Indian Education *Clara Sue Kidwell and David W. Swift* 333
Introduction 333
History 334
Elementary and Secondary Education 339
Higher Education 354
Conclusions 362
10. Women's Education *Lois Swift and David W. Swift* 369
Formal Education 372
Elementary Education 372
Secondary Education 381
Higher Education 385
Graduate Education 389
Conclusion 392
11. Student Political Activism *James L. Wood* 401
Introduction 401
Development of Student Activism in the United States 402
Types and Changes of Political Consciousness 406
Four Theories and an Empirical Test 414
Effects and Directions of the Student Movement 421

PART IV CONCLUSIONS 435

- A Brief Review 437
- Contrasts and Comparisons 442
- Student Minorities 445
- Some Lessons 448
- Resistance to Reform 449
- Alternative Schools 452
- Examining Assumptions 454
- Clarifying Objectives 456

Contributors 459

Index 467

PREFACE

This book is intended for people interested in American education and will be most useful as a basic text in sociology of education or educational foundations courses. It was undertaken as a result of three fundamental concerns: (1) We have not yet fully utilized some familiar, basic, sociological concepts in studying the schools; (2) We have not paid enough attention to the individual characteristics of the various components of our educational system; (3) We have often overlooked the observations of people who have had actual experience in these areas.

The chapters are original essays prepared especially for this book and are intentionally self contained to permit their use in any sequence. Part I offers a general introduction to the purposes of education in society. In Part II separate chapters are devoted to each segment of the educational system and in Part III to minority groups not adequately served by the present school system. Each chapter includes a description of the current situation, an examination of the forces that contribute to

this situation, and a brief historical review of the manner in which the present situation developed. Comparisons and contrasts among the subjects of various chapters are discussed in the concluding part.

Each chapter has been guided by one of the following basic sociological concepts: functional problems (public schools), general systems (Catholic schools), organizational character (community colleges), conflicting institutional goals (undergraduate education), overtraining in postindustrial society (graduate education), occupational stratification (vocational education), definition (adult education), social change (black education), cultural differences (Indian education), stereotypes (women's education), and political consciousness (student activism). These choices are useful as sensitizing concepts, guiding us toward certain aspects of the school. Given the limited space available for the discussion of each segment of the educational system, these sociological concepts have helped us to decide what to include and what to leave out.

In order to emphasize individual characteristics of each component of the educational system, our approach underscores diversity. Each segment, far from being bland and without character, has an identity of its own. In fact, these individual identities are very much a part of the problems that concern us, for sometimes we expect a school, a college, or a program to do or be something that it cannot do or be. We will show that each part of the educational system has its special characteristics, its special functions, and its special capabilities and incapacities.

So that we may learn from the observation of people with actual experience, this book employs "insiders," who look at the parts of the educational system and concentrate particularly on the structure and function of each part.

The authors of this book are well suited to their task. They have more than a casual involvement with the topics they discuss and have been invited to express personal opinions and offer suggestions for improvement. An ex-public school teacher describes public schools, a former adult education student describes adult education, a black scholar examines black education, an American Indian looks at Indian education. They have attempted to write clearly, minimizing jargon and statistics, since their aim is to inform students, educators, and lay people about American education.

Our initial concern is the examination of the structure and functions of the various parts of the educational system. This examination may turn out to be illuminating in itself, and once we have the basic picture clearly in mind, the application of other sociological concepts may be revealing. Consider, for example, formal and informal organization. After we have ascertained the formal organization, we can look at the

informal structure, viewing schools the way they are rather than the way they are supposed to be. Studies of many organizations have indicated that formal, official rules tell only part of the story, most groups also have informal, unofficial ways of doing things. This informal structure (bureaucracy's other face) does not necessarily help the organization to achieve its goals and may even undermine them. For example, we shall see that school administrators, supposedly appointed on the basis of their educational expertise, may actually be selected for other reasons that have little to do with education. Once we have found a divergence from formal plans, we can then ask about consequences of this divergence. In this case, what happens when the principal is not what other people expect him or her to be? The more we understand the components of the educational system, the better will be our capacity to reform it.

A second major concern of this book is with human beings in the educational system, particularly those students for whom the school does not make adequate provisions. In dealing with abstractions like "structure", "informal relations", and "organizational character", it is easy to forget that real people are involved, yet people are—or should be—the most important part of the schools. Nevertheless, is it obvious that many schools are dehumanizing, not only for millions of pupils, but also for large numbers of teachers and other school employees? Schools were far from ideal to begin with, and the sheer size, complexity, and other characteristics of modern educational systems have all too frequently made matters worse. Teachers, as well as pupils, simply get lost in the shuffle. That is why we shall give attention to the social composition of the school, both in the first part of the book, when we examine the various components of the educational system, and also in a separate section, which focuses upon several groups of students who do not fit smoothly into the educational system.

Who are the people who make up the schools? What effects do their sex, race, socioeconomic status, and other attributes have upon their personal educational destiny and upon the schools? Are there "typical" patterns that recur over and over again? We realize, of course, that people vary tremendously, so we should be cautious about making blanket statements that *all* blacks are this or *all* teachers do that. Nevertheless, there are certain tendencies, certain things that are likely to happen more frequently than if chance were the sole factor. We shall find that we are *not* dealing with a randomly selected cross section of the entire population; the educational system is selective for students and for school personnel, and this selectivity has certain consequences, some of which are extremely important.

The sociologist tries to look below the surface, to see what education actually *is* rather than what it *should be*. Of course, we need visions of desirable alternatives to inspire us and to guide our efforts at reform, but we also need more information about education as it really is today.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sociology has sensitized me to the fact that many people played a part in preparing this book. While teaching in California's elementary schools, I learned a great deal from the pupils, teachers, parents, and administrators. My earlier interest in education had been awakened by several relatives. My grandfather had been active in Japanese higher education for forty years. My mother was an elementary teacher, and my wife also taught elementary school for ten years.

Douglas Yamamura encouraged me to begin this project, and my busy colleagues took time out from their other activities to prepare their chapters. Michael G. Weinstein has offered stimulating thoughts about education and Ronald Pavalko directed me to important sources of information. I am particularly indebted to James Looram, and Murray and Rosalie Wax for their contributions to this book. Last, but far from least, I am grateful to Stephen D. London for reading the drafts and for offering many useful suggestions.

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David W. Swift

AMERICAN EDUCATION
A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW

I INTRODUCTION



The Approach of This Book

Education is often viewed as a solution to the world's problems. Unemployment, poverty, pollution, disease, injustice, war — such issues seem to defy direct solution, so people look to education as a means of coping with them. In line with this hope, the United States spends a great deal of money on its schools. Both in absolute amounts and in the proportion of the gross national product, expenditures for education have increased ever since World War II. Thus, in contrast to 3 billion dollars, 3 percent of the GNP thirty years ago, we spent 84 billion dollars on education in 1971-1972, 8 percent of our GNP.¹

Yet, while these huge expenditures attest to our belief in education, we no longer have the same unlimited optimism about it that our grandparents had. Having experienced schooling ourselves to a far greater degree than any previous generation, we are more critical. We

still view education as basically worthwhile, but we also have serious questions about it. Can it really help us to alleviate our social ills? Can schools handle even their own problems, such as student unrest or the teaching of basic skills in reading, writing, or arithmetic? Are the problems of the schools so great that, as some critics claim, we would be better off eliminating schools entirely? This book does not provide easy answers to such questions, but it does offer insights which, it is hoped, will enable people to cope with education's ills.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Sociology is the study of human interaction. It is concerned with the manner in which groups behave, how they interact with other groups, and how individuals relate to other people and to groups. Groups can be of any size, from two people to entire societies or even the total human population. Whatever their size or nature, groups share many common tendencies, so we may expect to find certain things happening over and over, these expectations will guide our study of education.

We expect, for example, that schools will be subjected to outside influences. Therefore, rather than viewing education as isolated and complete in itself, we shall be concerned with the connections between it and other parts of society. As sociologists we do not look only at pupils — we study them in relation to one another, their teachers, their homes, and their community. Similarly, instead of focusing on school as if it existed in a vacuum, we view it in an environment which includes citizens, businesses, government, traditions, and laws.

Such an approach, like much of sociology, seems almost too obvious to mention. Yet many people, in and out of education, mistakenly believe that schools are independent, autonomous entities, free to chart their own destinies. Certainly they may seem so to the frustrated lay person or even to the professional who tries in vain to change the system — some people have struggled for years without gaining even modest reforms.

What explains the schools' resistance to change? Answering such questions will be a major concern of our book. We shall try in various ways to examine the sources of rigidity in the educational system. What are the external forces restricting the schools' freedom? What groups or parts within the school are concerned with change? What are the areas in which reforms are likely to occur, and in what areas are reforms less probable?

Before taking up these major topics, we should make some observations about education in developed nations. The United States is one

of the most advanced of these nations, but it is by no means unique. What we find in our own educational system is only one manifestation of trends occurring in modern societies generally. Awareness of these broader trends will give us a better understanding of the American educational system. Consequently, the next section examines common characteristics and functions of education in industrialized nations.

Education in Modern Societies

Education in primitive societies is handled by the family. Children are taught by their parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, and other members of the extended kinship group. The family is large, acquisition of knowledge is a part of daily life, and skills and attitudes remain virtually unchanged for many generations. In such circumstances a separate school is unnecessary.

In industrial societies, however, the family becomes much smaller, skills cannot be adequately learned at home, and new knowledge appears rapidly. As a result, separate, specialized institutions are required for educating the young. The large extended family shrinks to a nucleus of mother, father, and a few siblings — or even less. Parents often work miles from the home and therefore have little time for educating the children. Furthermore, many occupations have become very specialized, requiring training that parents cannot provide by themselves. Still another problem is the swiftness with which new techniques emerge and previous methods become obsolete; skills possessed by one generation may become useless to the next generation. Such changes make it impossible for the young to learn all they need to know from just observing their parents. Consequently, a separate institution has developed, devoted specifically to education.

Functions of Education

The educational system may perform several functions, including socialization, occupational placement, custodial care, and innovation.

SOCIALIZATION

A basic function of education is socialization, the process of preparing an individual to be a member of society. Through socialization people acquire the skills, attitudes, abilities, and beliefs which will enable them to fit into society. The socialization process is extremely important both for the individual and for society. It provides the individual with a

pattern for living, telling how to act and how to think in a tremendous variety of situations In some respects socialization restricts us, keeping us from doing things we might want to do In other ways socialization broadens us, providing the tools, knowledge, and aspirations which enable us to develop our potential as human beings From the perspective of society, socialization is imperative for the transmission of culture Unless traditions, knowledge and ideas, and customs and skills are preserved from generation to generation, the society loses its identity and, in a sense, ceases to exist This is why so many people in so many cultures take socialization so seriously

In traditional, stable societies, socialization occurs in the family and in the closely knit neighboring community Youngsters grow up working and playing under the watchful eyes of parents, relatives, and neighbors, who know them and feel responsible for them Socialization in such circumstances is virtually automatic This is not the case in industrial, urban nations, where the family shrinks and sometimes disappears entirely, and the community takes little or no interest In such conditions, a new institution is needed for socialization, and this task falls largely to the school The family, to the extent that it still exists continues to exert some influence, but the school is expected to fill the breach and act *in loco parentis*

OCCUPATIONAL PLACEMENT

Another important function in modern societies is social placement Every society makes some provision for assigning people to the various positions which are essential for the society's maintenance and survival Farmers, judges, garbage collectors, doctors are all needed—the roles differ in responsibilities and rewards, but someone must perform them In the past, most societies have assigned people on the basis of inherited characteristics, such as race, sex, religion, family background, and birth order In modern societies, however, job qualifications become more complex, requiring more ability and training so that traditional reliance upon inherited status is no longer adequate Instead, people are more likely to be assigned on the basis of their own performance rather than according to their family's social position Family, community, or church being unable to perform this function, the school has emerged as the institution responsible for occupational placement The school offers an arena in which children can demonstrate their ability and channels them toward occupations supposedly best suited to their capacities, training them for particular jobs and certifying their competence in those fields so that, upon completion of their schooling, they can move into the world of work

6 INTRODUCTION

Obviously this is a tendency rather than an accomplished fact innate characteristics influence educational opportunities, barring millions of people from equal access to the more desirable positions

CHILD CARE

In modern society schools also act as custodial institutions, keeping children off the streets and out of the job market. In contrast to traditional societies, in which children were integrated into the daily routine of a large family in a small community, modern children can be a nuisance to their own parents and to the community. The school provides child care services, if nothing else, until youngsters are old enough to go to work, marry, or simply leave home.

INNOVATION

Education has still other functions. Innovation is needed in order to keep pace with the rapid social and technological changes characteristic of industrial society. Innovation is most obvious in universities, which have produced inventions ranging from atom bombs to hard-skinned tomatoes suitable for machine picking. Some people also look to elementary and secondary schools for innovation, hoping that schools can somehow solve the urgent problems of today or can at least produce creative young citizens who will be able to cope effectively with future difficulties.

Educational Trends

Four basic educational trends are prevalent in modern societies—mass education, bureaucracy, centralism, and unionism. Their fundamental importance is suggested by their widespread occurrence. They are not limited to the United States but are apparent in other industrial nations as well. Moreover, these trends appear in other institutions besides education—in business, government, labor, and science. The presence of these trends in other countries and other institutions indicates that they are more than superficial or accidental, more than merely the result of some educator's hasty decision. Instead they are deeply rooted in industrial society.

All four trends are concomitants of size. Vast numbers of students result in mass education, huge numbers of schools lead to bureaucracy and centralism, and large numbers of teachers lead to unionism. Of course, other factors are also operating. Nevertheless, size does lead to certain problems, and modern technology provides methods of com-

munication and control that make organization on a very large scale possible

MASS EDUCATION

Modernization greatly increases the number of students. Governments see education as a path leading to further industrialization in such ways as forging a sense of national unity among people of divergent origins and reducing health problems by instruction in sanitation, hygiene, and nutrition. Businessmen see education as a source of trained workers. Individuals see education as a means of improving their own position or that of their children, through qualifying for white collar jobs or by marrying someone who does. Because so many people agree that education is desirable, a significant portion of the nation's resources is devoted to it.

The resulting availability of educational opportunities leads to mass education. In traditional, preindustrial societies, education is elitist, limited to the small number of children whose parents are wealthy enough to pay the high cost of private education. Industrialized nations, by providing education free or at reduced cost, offer schooling to the masses who could not afford it on their own.

Beyond elite education and mass education there is a third phase. It occurs in postindustrial societies like our own, which have become so highly mechanized and wealthy that education is universal and compulsory. In this stage, education is not simply offered to all young people—it is *required* of them. The nation's resources and the social pressures are such that education is no longer a matter of individual choice. First elementary schooling, then secondary education are made mandatory for all youth. The United States is well into this final stage by 1970 almost all children were attending elementary schools, 94 percent of the fourteen- to seventeen-year old population was in high school, and about half of the high school graduates continued on to college.²

Although college attendance is not required by law, a degree is becoming more and more necessary as a qualification for desirable jobs, and as a mark of a capable, respectable citizen. The high school diploma, which served these functions a generation or two ago, has been devalued by its commonness and by the fact that many high school graduates seem lacking in basic literacy.

At any rate, whether school attendance is the result of legal requirements at the elementary and secondary levels or of peer and parental pressures and job requirements at the college level, compulsion is effective, and it creates serious problems for the schools. Educational

procedures which were satisfactory when attendance was voluntary do not necessarily work when pupils are required to attend. Compulsory education forces the school to become, among other things, a custodial institution, caring for children while their parents work or rest and keeping adolescents from roaming the streets and getting into trouble or from competing with adults for scarce jobs.

Another problem, as we shall see, is that mass education does not necessarily mean democratic education. While educational opportunities are offered to all, not all are able to utilize them to the same extent. Students from more privileged families have the advantage. In elementary and secondary schools, well-to-do students are steered—or pushed—into precollege courses. Poor children, in contrast, are likely to end up in vocational or commercial courses which do not prepare them for college or the most desirable occupations. In higher education, too, students from the middle and upper strata are more likely to apply for admission to prestigious colleges, more likely to be accepted, and more likely to complete their work toward a college degree.

BUREAUCRACY

As the educational system grows it becomes more bureaucratic. Jobs are specialized and duties are clearly defined. Employees are evaluated on the basis of their performance. Their jobs are coordinated and arranged in a hierarchy. Employees are offered a career in the organization. In theory, at least, such measures lead to greater efficiency, though we are aware that this is not always the case. Nevertheless, pressures toward bureaucracy seem virtually irresistible, not only in schools but in all large organizations.

As the bureaucracy develops, the school loses part of its unique identity as an educational institution and takes on some of the characteristics shared by all large organizations, public and private business and governmental. School personnel lose their contact with students and with teaching and become generalized administrators, concerned with coordinating rather than with educating. Thus the president of a large state university observed that administrators are interchangeable and that it made little difference whether they were managing a school, a hospital, or a government agency. Such situations lead to problems, as we shall demonstrate in more detail later on.

What is good for an organization or its administrators is not necessarily good for the public. Bureaucracy should be simply a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. The challenge presented by educational bureaucracies lies in using them to benefit students, the community, and the nation as a whole.

CENTRALISM

Related to growth and bureaucracy is centralism, the uniting of many individual units into a single, larger whole. Like bureaucracy, centralism is a common facet of modern life, affecting many organizations besides schools. For example, several states may join together to form a single nation, or many independent businesses may merge into one large conglomerate. American education follows the same tendency. School district unification has reduced the number of separate, independent districts from about 200,000 in 1920 to 17,000 today, though there now are far more pupils, teachers, and classrooms than earlier.

At present, educational centralization in the United States is proceeding toward a regional and state level rather than toward a single nationwide unit. Teachers are certified by the state, and legislation regulating the schools is most abundant at this level. Although the U.S. Office of Education exists, its duties are primarily advisory and informational. Aside from occasional court rulings on constitutional issues like racial integration or the separation of church and state, there are no national regulations regarding students, teachers, or curriculum.

Nevertheless, trends toward centralization at the national level are evident. Perhaps most revealing in this regard are the statistics indicating sources of revenue for local school districts. In 1920 less than half of 1 percent of the money for public schools came from the federal government. By 1970 this figure had increased to 8 percent. State support has also increased, from 16 percent in 1920 to 39 percent half a century later.³ This massive movement toward centralization is not without opposition. Countermovements have appeared, calling for decentralization and community control. While unlikely to reverse the trend toward centralization, they may at least make bureaucracies a little more responsive to local needs and individual concerns.

UNIONISM

Still another consequence of growth is unionism. As organizations become larger and less personal, employees band together for protection, particularly with respect to wages, working conditions, and job security. In place of the former familial relationship in which the employer supposedly took a paternal interest in the employee's welfare, today's employer-employee relationships are governed by detailed, legally enforceable contracts. Again, this trend is not limited to education; it is found in a broad range of groups in both public and private sectors of society. Unions include not only factory workers and stevedores but also public employees such as policemen, secretaries, and even doctors.

Unionism, too, has been accompanied by problems Teachers' relations with their employers have been an obvious point of friction, less apparent but still significant has been the thwarting of teachers' desire for professionalism Perhaps the most obvious appeal of professionalism has been the prestigious title itself, but it also connotes particular facets of work which teachers want—and miss—in their present jobs in large organizations autonomy, low standardization, opportunities to use a wide array of skills in the service of the client, evaluation and control by colleagues Few of these perquisites can be enjoyed to any great extent in the huge school systems of today Teaching school has seldom been an easy job, but at least in the past the teachers could take some comfort in believing that they were at least professionals For some teachers today even this small comfort has been lost by affiliation with the ranks of organized labor

Yet unionism and professionalism are not necessarily antithetical, and this fact is recognized by both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association The AFT represents the union perspective and the NEA upholds the professional point of view The two organizations are now discussing a merger

Conclusion

Education in modern societies is responsible for performing various functions, including socialization occupational placement, child care, and innovation In addition, modern educational systems exhibit similar characteristic tendencies mass education, bureaucracy, centralization, and unionism

There is no guarantee that all these functions or trends will operate harmoniously together, in fact, they do not Innovation, for example, may clash with socialization teaching youngsters to think critically and to look for new ways of doing things can undermine acceptance of traditional beliefs and practices Similarly, mass education can lead to challenges of time honored customs, when, for instance, high school and college graduates from lower class origins seek jobs which were formerly monopolized by a small, wealthy elite

In short, potentially serious tensions, incongruities, and conflicts exist at the most basic level of education in industrialized nations It should not be surprising, therefore, to find some weak spots, some cracks, in the educational structures erected on these somewhat shaky foundations These infirmities are virtually inherent in modern educational systems, and ours is no exception

Notes

1. U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics 1972*, table 25, p. 25.
2. U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics 1971*, table 11, p. 9; table 31, p. 27.
3. U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics 1972*, table 70, p. 60.

II THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF AMERICAN EDUCATION



Not all children go to public schools, 4900,000 pupils attend private schools. Ninety-six percent of private schools are church related, the vast majority being operated by the Roman Catholic church.⁵ This alternative to the public educational system is analyzed by Benjamin Hodgkins, who attended Catholic schools.

After high school, many people want more education. Some hope to earn a bachelor's degree while others desire a year or two of vocational or general training before going to work. The junior or "community" college welcomes them all, and William Nolin, a junior college instructor, examines the resulting problems. Some 25 million students are enrolled in these two-year colleges.⁶

Another 65 million students attend four-year colleges and universities. Every state in the Union has at least one public university, and most states have several public colleges as well as a number of privately supported institutions. There were 159 universities and 1,542 four-year colleges in the United States in 1972.⁷ This phase of higher education is analyzed by Irving Krauss of Northern Illinois University.

At the top of the formal educational system is the graduate school. Some 960,000 students were working toward advanced degrees in the fall of 1973.⁸ Their training is examined by Eldon Wegner of the University of California at Riverside.

Education is not limited to schools and colleges. Many adults want instruction not offered by the regular educational system and therefore turn to other sources for their occupational or recreational needs.⁹ The diversity of adult education makes it difficult to define, and specialists Jack London and Robert Wenkert devote their chapter to this task.

Much education for adults is concerned with specific skills required for jobs. About 11.6 million people enrolled in vocational training classes in 1972.¹⁰ These programs are examined by Bruce Reinhart of the Center for Vocational and Technical Education at Ohio State University.

Notes

16 THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

- 6 1972 *Junior College Directory*, Washington, D C , American Association of Junior Colleges, 1972, p 89
- 7 *Digest of Educational Statistics 1972*, table 110, p 93, and table 113, p 97 *Digest of Educational Statistics 1973*, table 108, p 90
- 8 *Digest of Educational Statistics 1973*, table 1, page 6
- 9 Moses, p 7
- 10 U S Office of Education, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, 'Enrollment in Vocational Education, by Program and Level, Fiscal Year 1972 "

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

DAVID W. SWIFT

Introduction

Schools across the nation are having problems. In a small Ohio town, schools are threatened with closing when a tax issue is defeated. A San Francisco high school shuts down because of racial disturbances. Pupils are injured and a number are arrested when police appear on the campus. In New York City, two sixteen-year-old high school pupils, one a football star, die of overdoses of heroin and other narcotics. A fourteen-year-old boy dies after taking barbiturates. Angry parents storm the city hall demanding action, and the mayor calls for a two-day closing of an upper Manhattan junior high so that its teachers can receive special training in drugs.

These obvious problems are only one part of the predicament facing American elementary and secondary schools. There are also educational difficulties which, though less spectacular, are just as serious in the long run. Thousands of pupils drop out of school before completing the

twelve year program Many others receive high school diplomas without learning how to read or to do simple arithmetic Still others lack fluency in communication, either in speaking or in writing And millions of pupils get through school without much difficulty but feel that education is dull and irrelevant

Opinions differ regarding the best solution to such problems, and there is also disagreement about the relative importance of these issues For instance, is reading really essential? Or are social adjustments and skills, say, in woodworking or homemaking more desirable?

Even large scale research studies have not resolved such questions, if anything they have raised new issues, such as whether schools, regardless of their particular programs, have much influence upon pupils The Coleman Report for example, concluded that schools have little effect, and that family background is the major determinant of a pupil's academic achievement¹ Others like Jensen, agree that schools have relatively little effect but claim that heredity rather than family environment is the basic factor in students' performance²

There is such confusion and controversy about these issues that we may wonder if there is any way to make sense out of the schools Usually we think of the school as being in a class by itself, with problems unknown elsewhere Instead, if we look at the school as an organization, we will find that it has characteristics and problems similar to those of hospitals factories, prisons, and other social systems Such an approach will bring into sharper focus some of the difficulties of the schools

This chapter views public schools as organizations and is particularly concerned with the possibilities for change The remainder of the introductory section glances at the historical development of American public schools into their present form The next section examines social structure, focusing on problems that confront the schools The following section analyzes the schools social composition its students and its staff The concluding part of this chapter discusses the prospects for changing the schools and suggests ways in which change might be accomplished

BACKGROUND

Education in the United States is not merely free, it is compulsory In general, youngsters from seven to sixteen years of age must attend school, although the exact requirements vary from state to state³ Ninety nine percent of all elementary school age children are enrolled in school,⁴ as are 94 percent of secondary age youths⁵ The vast majority of these pupils attend public schools 26 million at the elementary level and 19 million in secondary schools⁶

Despite early interest in education, public schools in America got off to a slow start. Soon after the Pilgrims arrived in the New World they passed laws, such as the "Old Deluder Satan" Act of 1647, that required the establishment of elementary and secondary schools. Various factors, however, delayed the actual development of public schools for almost two centuries. Many people saw little practical value in education, members of ethnic or religious factions feared that a public system of schools might threaten their identity, and still others did not want to pay taxes to educate other people's children. Wealthy families sent their sons and daughters to private schools and consequently did not feel the need for publicly supported institutions.⁷ Gradually, however, the idea of free public education gained acceptance for such varied reasons as the desire for trained workers, the hope for social mobility, and the need for informed and conforming citizens.

The first organizations we would recognize as public schools appeared in the early nineteenth century. Cincinnati founded its public school system in 1825 and Chicago opened its first public school in 1830. During the following twenty years, public schools were opened in a number of larger cities and towns, but smaller communities were slower to follow. Many schools charged some tuition, and laws requiring attendance were not enacted until the second half of the century. Until the Civil War, public education was concentrated almost entirely at the elementary level.

The value of secondary education gradually became more apparent, as indicated by the 1872 Kalamazoo Decision, which established the right of communities to levy taxes for public high schools. During the next fifty years, with continuing urbanization, immigration, and industrialization, schools grew larger and far more complex, and by 1920 their present character was established.

In the last fifty years, attention has shifted from merely providing schools to improving the quality of education, and particularly to offering equality of education. Pedagogues, psychologists, and philosophers maintained that education should be improved so that all children could develop their potentialities to the fullest. Justifications for these noble objectives have ranged from social justice to national defense, and attention has been directed, at one time or another, at average children, the mentally retarded, the gifted, and the disadvantaged members of racial minorities. If one common theme emerged from these varied concerns, it was that children should be treated as human beings with feelings of their own, not as passive receptacles into which could be poured a hodgepodge of facts. Learning should be made meaningful to the student, presented in ways which make sense to him.

Unfortunately, difficulties have arisen in trying to apply these principles to specific, real life situations. In spite of large investments of money and manpower, in spite of research studies like the Coleman Report and experiments such as the Ocean Hill decentralization attempt, we still do not know with certainty how to provide quality education for each child. Perhaps this is an opportune time to look more carefully at the schools in an effort to see how they work, what they can and cannot do, and how they might be improved.

Organizational Problems

PROBLEMS OF ALL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Talcott Parsons and other sociologists have observed that all enduring groups must solve four problems: (1) goal attainment, (2) pattern maintenance and tension management, (3) integration, and (4) adaptation. First, every social system has one or more goals to be attained through cooperative effort. For example, the goal of an army would be national security, the goals of General Motors would be manufacturing automobiles and making a profit.

Second, group members must be socialized so that they will learn the patterns of the system and treat them with appropriate respect. In addition, there must be means for managing the tensions which arise, some way to relieve anxiety and to provide encouragement, so that people will be willing to do what the system (in this case the school) wants them to do.

Third, the various parts of the system must be integrated into an effective whole so that they work together to attain the objectives of the entire group instead of seeking only the self interests of each segment. Authority is usually employed to regulate and coordinate these various units within the system.

Finally, the entire system must adapt to its environment—the people, traditions, laws, and other factors which may affect the system.⁸

This brief analysis of social systems has been on an abstract, general level. Now we shall narrow our attention, focusing upon formal organizations and, even more specifically, upon public schools. In other words, we shall look at the particular ways in which these general problems are manifested in the schools.

The relation between general problems and their specific manifestations is not always direct or all inclusive. For example, pattern maintenance involves control of teachers as well as of pupils. Nevertheless, the concept of general problems is useful in calling attention to other, noneducational factors affecting the schools. The concept reminds us

that schools are concerned with other problems besides the education and welfare of students, even though this objective is the one by which school officials usually try to justify their actions.⁹

THE PROBLEM OF GOALS The issue of goals is complicated "Education" is widely acknowledged to be the school's purpose but it is too general a concept to be much help in actually running a school Consensus on goals exists only at the broadest level, as soon as we try to define education more specifically all kinds of problems emerge, one of which is disagreement about what the school should teach Some people, for example, believe that the schools should concentrate upon the three Rs, while others feel that personality development is more important Some feel that social studies are worthwhile but others claim that they are a waste of time Some think sex education in the school is imperative, while others maintain that it is the family's responsibility and the school has no business meddling with it

Obviously, such disagreement makes it difficult to decide what courses to give, what teachers to hire, what textbooks to order Yet controversies like these, troublesome as they may be, are only one consequence of very broad objectives Another result, even more serious, is that education, no matter how it is defined, may be pushed into the background or ignored altogether, while other issues receive prior attention Limited, clearly defined goals can be readily translated into guides for everyday decisions which leave little doubt about what should be done in a particular situation On the other hand, goals that are broad and general are more likely to be misinterpreted or pushed aside in the face of other, more specific demands Education, for example, does not tell a superintendent what to do when his request for a school tax increase has been rejected by the voters, nor does this vague definition help an inexperienced teacher who has just taken over a class of hostile seventh graders who are reading at a third grade level

In such situations educators must improvise solutions for coping with their immediate problems Often these problems have little direct connection with education The superintendent just mentioned must raise money quickly, and the teacher must find a way to prevent the students from attacking her or each other Finance and discipline are quite different from education and are likely to seem more urgent, as we shall see What happens, then, is that other goals may intrude ahead of education Discussion of the real meaning of education can be delayed until next month or next year, but the embattled superintendent and the beleaguered teacher must find immediate solutions to their inescapable nonpedagogical problems

For this reason it is possible that vague formal goals, despite the difficulties they often create, may sometimes be useful. If goals are too specific, employees may be too restricted in their attempts to handle their problems. People in many kinds of jobs like to have some leeway in the manner in which they do their work. School personnel, like people in other organizations and occupations, prefer to go about their jobs in the manner they think best. This freedom is particularly important when they are confronted by problems of which the public is not aware, or which lay people think are not legitimate concerns of the school. In such situations the embattled administrator may welcome the vagueness of present educational policies and may try to keep them from being restated too narrowly or specifically.

If one source of vague objectives is their usefulness, another source is the sincere disagreement and lack of precision among educators in regard to what is "best" in education. Superintendents, teachers, principals, college professors, and supervisors do not agree on what are the most desirable policies. It is no wonder, then, that the schools' objectives remain cloudy. And if people directly involved in education cannot agree or be more specific, how can we expect the general public to do so? Thus a third source of vagueness lies outside the school. Society itself lacks precise educational goals. Various people and groups want the school to do, or to be, or to teach particular things. When these people push hard enough the school has to listen. If they push even harder the school may have to modify its procedures to accommodate these goals.

At times the modification merely results in the addition of another subject to the curriculum, for example, foreign language, science, conservation, or the evils of smoking or of drugs. But what happens when goals are not stated precisely enough? For example, many people expect the schools to teach "good citizenship." What does this mean in practice? Does citizenship require unquestioning support of everything done by American officials or agencies, or does it mean, instead, that the citizen should question policies or actions that he feels are not in the best long term interests of the nation?

The necessity of accommodating to additional or ill defined goals makes life hard enough, but things become even more difficult when two or more strong pressure groups make contradictory demands upon the school. Society is not homogeneous. Instead, it consists of many subgroups having varied and sometimes conflicting economic, political, or religious interests. For example, blacks and whites may take opposite positions on integration, radicals and middle of the roaders will differ over the political orientations they think should be taught in social

studies classes, and prosperous and poor citizens may support different economic perspectives or different allocations of money to schools in various parts of the city

Thus the goals of the school are often vague and even conflicting. The vagueness comes from at least three sources—the ambiguities and contradictions of society, the varied approaches of educators, and school officials' desire to maintain some room for maneuvering.

THE PROBLEM OF PUPIL CONTROL An important aspect of pattern maintenance and tension management involves the students. To avoid chaos, pupils must conform to the school's expectations and some means must be available for managing the tensions which arise when large numbers of youngsters are required to do things that they do not really want to do. The fact that schools may lack fences and armed guards does not alter the underlying reality—attendance is compulsory.

The custodial problem raised by universal compulsory education has two components: (1) The school is expected to keep all children in school, regardless of their background, ability, or inclination. (2) They must be kept under control. Neither of these tasks is easy, and together they place a formidable strain upon the school. The significance of control should not be underestimated. Although major disturbances may not happen very often, there is always the possibility that they *might* occur, and this possibility worries school personnel. Even in the best behaved classes the potential for an outbreak of disorder is seldom absent. One obstreperous pupil can disrupt the whole class, challenging the teacher's attempts to teach or even maintain order. Therefore, from the school's point of view, misbehavior is more serious than inadequate learning; the pupil who does not learn may suffer in silence, whereas misbehavior has immediate disruptive consequences. Learning is considered desirable, but control is felt to be absolutely essential, not only for education but also for the smooth operation of the school and the protection of people and property.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that traditional types of punishment are no longer acceptable. Formerly, schools attempted to enforce discipline through such punitive measures as failure, expulsion, and corporal punishment, but today these methods are the exception rather than the rule. Although pupils may be required by law to attend, the public school cannot force them to obey its rules.

The potential for custodial problems has increased within the past century or so. To be sure, early schoolmasters or their pupils did not have an easy life. On the contrary, many accounts indicate that the old time school was a grim place for teacher and pupil alike. Discipline

was one of the teachers' most important responsibilities, and they were expected to rely heavily on physical punishment. Moreover, few people really cared whether or not children attended school. If they stayed home, they could be put to work, and if they spent the day away from home, there was open country in which to dissipate their youthful energy without disturbing anyone else. As for vandalism, there was little that could be broken in the sparsely furnished one room schoolhouse.

In today's urban industrial society the situation is very different. Other people do care, for reasons which may have little to do with education or the child's welfare. Juvenile delinquency is a widespread problem. Urbanization loosens the primary, kinship constraints of village life, dumping hordes of people into impersonal cities where social controls are weaker. If children do not go to school, often there is no open place for them to play, only crowded streets or an occasional tiny park, inadequate for the dozens or hundreds of youngsters living nearby. Few people know the children, and fewer still try to supervise their behavior.

Furthermore, urban children are an economic liability, since they do not contribute directly to the support of their families. They are divested of most of the chores that children used to do, and have few useful functions to perform and many opportunities for mischief. Dozens of similarly superfluous youngsters live nearby, yet their parents may be gone all day, working miles away. If children do seek employment they may be competing against adults for the diminishing number of unskilled jobs available. Eventually, laws against child labor are passed, which reduce still further the opportunities for productive use of youngsters' time. They are not needed at home but are prohibited from working away from home. Under such conditions trouble seems inevitable.

The agency in an industrial society most likely to be responsible for controlling juveniles is the public school. Located in nearly every neighborhood and handling more young people than any other institution, the school is widely viewed as the logical body for regulating youthful behavior. After all, it is already inculcating other socially desirable skills and attitudes. Some teachers complain about having to be babysitters or policemen, but the prevailing assumption that the school is responsible for controlling youngsters is seldom seriously challenged. If the urban family does not supervise its children, the school is expected to do so. Consequently, residents protest that adolescents are littering their lawns, businessmen complain that juveniles are annoying customers or shop lifting during the noon hour, and police pick up children playing in the street and ask the principal why they are not in school.

Most Americans between the ages of five and seventeen receive some sort of formal education, and the vast majority attend public schools.¹⁰

As a result, public schools must accommodate a student body characterized by a very wide range of social origins, motivation, and ability.

Socialization is an important part of this accommodation process, both for the school and for the pupil. Difficulties so often encountered by poor nonwhite children are, in part, a result of inadequate socialization. Their background does not prepare them to adapt easily to the school's expectations. Their previous experiences make it difficult for them to adjust to the patterns of the school. Through no fault of their own they become "problem pupils." The greater the disparity between pupils' backgrounds and the school system, the more difficult will socialization be, and the lower are their chances of successfully mastering all the requirements. Since the school's expectations are basically those of middle class whites, minority students have the largest gap to overcome — and many fail.¹¹

At the other extreme, overfamiliarity may breed contempt. Some students from upper social strata are also alienated from school. Unlike lower strata pupils, however, they know the rules so well that they can play the game successfully, in spite of their contempt for it. The following comments by a high school student in an affluent New York suburb suggest both his sophistication and his dislike for school:

We are forced into competition with one another — for grades honor classes admittance to college, athletic teams and social acceptance. Through this competition, our honesty, awareness and intelligence are not improved, but rather a capacity to wear a mask, be devious, take the safe and beaten path and stomp on our peers is developed. But even this is not done by the students consciously. It is simply their adaptation to the school environment, the normal way to achieve "success" in the dreary, prepackaged world of the high school. This competitiveness is a series of humiliations for all, even the successful ones and its ultimate purpose is to produce beings who have resigned themselves to the authority of this system.¹²

School is most likely to be successful with middle or lower middle class pupils. They are the ones most inclined to accept the school's values and to believe that it offers them something worthwhile.

Given the problems of retention and control created by universal compulsory education and in the absence of the power to select pupils, punish them, or channel them into markedly distinct streams, an interesting solution has emerged. Since pupils cannot be forced to behave, the school has sought their willing cooperation by minimizing pressures, especially those of an academic nature, and, in general, by trying to make schools more pleasant. Emphasis has shifted from curriculum to the child. Standards of grading and promotion have become flexible. Many subjects are offered in place of a single academic course of study.

Teaching methods try to take into account the interests of the pupil. Discipline is less severe.

These measures are characteristic of progressive education, which goes back at least to John Dewey at the beginning of this century and which, in its most recent form, is called "open education." This progressive approach, ostensibly adopted for educational and humanitarian reasons, has also reduced the school's problem of control. For example, flexibility in programming allows many pupils to avoid academic courses almost entirely. Furthermore, teaching methods and the content of academic courses may be altered to the point where they will not impose excessive intellectual burdens. In addition, lenient policies of grading and promotion also diminish scholastic pressures. Finally, some aspects of public school life are enjoyable in themselves and thereby serve as incentives to remain in school and obey the rules—athletics, movies, field trips—and merely the companionship of other students. The principal of a high school in a California ghetto reported that the worst thing that could happen to many of his pupils was suspension:

I can paddle the daylights out of them and they'll just laugh at me. But kick 'em out for a few days and that usually brings them around. It gets pretty dull and lonely at home. Suspension puts them away from their friends and school activities. That really hurts.¹³

Of course, students still get restless, drop out, or engage in violence, but they would do so even more under a stricter regimen. Some students misbehave under almost any circumstances. The school cannot reasonably be expected to compensate for all the tensions found in the home, the community, and the society. In fact, when we consider the seriousness of these problems and pressures, it seems remarkable that the school socializes pupils as well as it does.

This socialization is extremely important. It has implications not only for society and the student but also for the school. To the extent that a pupil is socialized into the school's ways, society will get a good citizen, the student will receive good grades, and the school's task of pattern maintenance and tension management will be easier.

THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATION Many American schools and school systems are very large: 180 districts have 25,000 or more pupils, and another 538 districts have 10,000 to 24,999 pupils. Almost half of all pupils in the nation are in these huge systems.¹⁴ The size of individual schools also follows the size of the district: the larger the district the larger its schools. In the smallest districts (under 300 pupils) the average elementary school has only 64 students, compared to 647 pupils in the largest districts. Similarly, secondary schools in the smallest districts average 88 pupils, compared to 1,440 in the largest districts.¹⁵

Thus a school system today is a large, complex organization. As such, it faces some of the same problems found in other types of organizations. Private businesses and government agencies also must pay some attention to personnel, finance, maintenance, and supply. Such matters may have little apparent relevance to the official objectives of the enterprises, but they cannot be ignored. It is not surprising, therefore, that many school employees are doing work that has no direct connection with education. Instead, their activities involve the daily requirements characteristic of any large organization preparing reports, sweeping halls, planning budgets, replacing broken windows, ordering toilet paper, and so forth. Such tasks, while not educational, must be performed. To get these jobs done, many standard administrative practices have been adopted. Schools employ accountants, coordinators, special services people, and business managers, along with clerks, secretaries, and key punch operators.

The coordination of such diverse activities and personnel does, in itself, require some attention to managerial matters. In addition, the situation is complicated by size. Many school districts are very large, with dozens of schools, thousands of teachers and multimillion dollar budgets. Even individual schools may have several thousand pupils and a hundred or more teachers. Such situations present administrative problems as well as educational ones. Casual, informal methods which might have been adequate in handling a small number of pupils, teachers, or supplies will not suffice in a larger district. Demands for efficient administrative techniques become more urgent. In fact, education is only one aspect of modern schools, and the bigger the school, the more important the other considerations become.

Consequently, the concern of the administration is not simply class room instruction but rather the smooth operation of the enterprise as a whole. Janitors, students, secretaries, teachers, books, buildings, grounds, and supplies are all segments of a larger totality. Whatever the intrinsic value of each part may be, it is the overall picture that really counts. All the diverse elements, inanimate as well as human, must be ordered, integrated, supplied, or evaluated. For administrators, then, the school is a problem not so much of education as of logistics. Illustrating this premise, a high school principal observed, "There's a tremendous number of details to get on top of. You have to get up where you can get a view of the whole thing."¹⁶ Education is only one of several elements competing for attention.

This fact may explain some things which are likely to surprise new teachers and lay people. For instance, a principal may consider janitors more important than teachers. As one principal told the writer, "You can always get another teacher but good custodians are hard to find."¹⁷

The custodian is responsible for buildings worth hundreds of thousands of dollars of taxpayers' money, and the comfort and safety of pupils and staff depend on his maintenance of buildings, grounds, and equipment.

Similar considerations led an official of the California State Department of Education to say that when he visited a school, he looked at the library and the boys' lavatory and talked to the janitor and the bus driver. From these sources he claimed he could tell how well the school was being run.¹⁸

In such situations, the conflicts between education and administration are clear. However, there are other ways in which pressures characteristic of large organizations can hamper education. The demand for information and communications may interfere with the work of the classroom teacher. Or concern for economy and control can adversely affect policies of class size and recruitment of personnel.

Regarding the first point, communication teachers must perform clerical tasks which may be administratively useful but which have little or nothing to do with teaching. Attendance registers, checklists, notes concerning absences, surveys records, inventories, messages to counselors, elaborate report cards, questionnaires, and charts — all these must be filled out, noted, or answered by teachers. Although each item in itself may require only a few moments, the summation of many such tasks throughout the school year takes a lot of time away from instruction. Exigencies of communication can also interfere more directly with teaching. The interruption of classes by announcements or requests for information is a common occurrence. As one teacher complained, "The learning spell is broken after the teacher has spent possibly twenty minutes or longer creating the atmosphere he wanted in the room."¹⁹

The second conflict involves economy and control. The demand for economy can be one of the strongest, most persistent pressures upon a superintendent. In fact, the renewal of his contract may depend largely upon his ability to keep expenses down. A typical situation was suggested by a Massachusetts superintendent's comments about his board of education:

My committee is primarily interested in keeping costs down. They don't want to discuss or even consider the need to revise the curriculum. They think a school committee's major job is to keep the budget in line and to get teachers at the lowest possible price. They don't think we've got any educational problems. Everything's fine, they say. No one is complaining about the schools.²⁰

Such concern for economy may lead to increases in class size or pupil-teacher ratio. By adding a few pupils to each of several classes, fewer teachers will be needed. This device saves money which otherwise

would have been spent on teachers' salaries. The temptation to economize is strong; the benefits are alluring, while the drawbacks are hard to establish.

Economic pressure may also influence policies of teacher recruitment and encourage the hiring of young, inexperienced teachers when better qualified teachers are available.²¹ Many school districts grant salary increases on the basis of two factors: amount of teaching experience²² and the number of college credits. Teachers who have more experience and more college training must be paid higher salaries. This greater cost is an important element in the hiring policies of superintendents and board members concerned with minimizing costs. The financial savings in hiring inexperienced or inadequately credentialed teachers are considerable, while the educational disadvantages are less obvious. Consequently, while experienced teachers with advanced degrees may be desirable from an educational standpoint, they are an economic handicap to a school district.

Control is also a factor in selecting school personnel, not merely control over pupils but control over teachers too. Although a certain level of employee obedience is necessary in any organization, there nevertheless is the danger that docility and submissiveness, rather than educational expertise, may be a consideration in hiring, retaining, and promoting school employees. Superintendents who argue too openly with the board of education, principals who frequently oppose the decisions of the superintendent, and teachers who protest district policies are treading on dangerous ground, regardless of the educational merit of the dissenter's point of view. Thus, there is a tendency in schools, as in other organizations, to hire and to promote people who will not "rock the boat," in preference to outspoken experts.²³

This tendency, in fact, is probably stronger in public schools than in many other organizations. It is another source of the conformity, the blandness, and the conservatism of schools and their personnel. Innovators and oddballs not only alarm the public but may also create tensions within the school, making administration more difficult. The excellent though outspoken teacher is less likely to be hired and retained than the milder, innocuous person who may be a poorer educator but a better bureaucrat. As this process of selection is repeated through the years, schools build staffs whose docility and loyalty come first and whose concern for pupils and for teaching is secondary. Thus, it is not only society that imposes conformity upon the school, it is also the school itself that does so, because conformity makes administration easier.

THE PROBLEM OF AUTONOMY A fourth problem involves adaptation. Schools are not self-contained units, existing in a vacuum. Instead, they

"live" in an environment to which they must adapt if they are to survive. This environment includes the community, state and national governments, special interest groups business associations, parents, political organizations — a wide range of people and groups. Some are hostile, some are friendly, and some are irrelevant. Furthermore, the situation may change over time. Some organizations may remain dormant for many years, only to spring suddenly into action, others seem to materialize out of nowhere, and still others may take a less active role than in the past. The federal government, too, has increasingly influenced the schools, both in financing and in desegregation rulings. Schools must be alert to this complex changing environment because they are dependent upon it for money and are governed by it.

Most of the school's revenue comes from the local community. The federal government, until recently, has contributed little to the actual operation of the public schools. In the 1970-1971 school year, less than 7 percent of the revenue for American public schools came from the federal level. The states contributed only 41 percent, leaving local school districts to raise 52 percent of their income within their own community.²⁴

As a result, school administrators try to keep on good terms with the public, so that it will approve requests for more revenue.

A second important area of public involvement is policy and decision making. In some ways it seems that American school districts have a high degree of independence, with little control exerted by the federal government, the state or the county. Formal control of the school is left to the local board of education, usually elected by the people. The board chooses the superintendent, and he, in turn, makes most of the decisions involving curriculum, personnel, and expenditures. In the end however, schools are supposed to be governed by the people. While schools have developed ways to minimize public intervention, the possibility remains that aroused citizens *might* create a lot of trouble, so school officials usually try to avoid — or conceal — things that could be questioned by the public. Many school employees, and other people too, think that work proceeds more comfortably when no one is looking over their shoulders.

This feeling is intensified by job insecurity. Although most classroom teachers have tenure, principals and superintendents usually do not and retain their managerial posts only by keeping in the good graces of the school board. If administrators have previously been tenured teachers in their districts, they can return to the classroom in the event that they are discharged from their supervisory positions, but the drop in pay and prestige is so devastating that few would care to do so.

Sensitivity to public intervention is heightened by the defenseless nature of the school's young clientele. Their immaturity places a heavy responsibility upon the school for their physical safety and moral well-being. The school's independence is also limited by its visibility. The teachers' activities are very open to public scrutiny. They work among several dozen young representatives of the community who watch them all day long and who may report anything they do to their parents.

Proximity is still another factor. There is a school in every neighborhood. It is the most conveniently located of all public agencies, much more accessible than the city hall.

Lastly, the school's autonomy is limited still further by the doctrine that the public schools belong to the people, and they have ultimate authority over them. Most of the time the school is left alone to do as it wishes, few laymen pay much attention to it. Yet there is always the possibility that the public will be aroused by some issue such as busing, "obscene" books, or campus violence, and the people will then intervene in school activities. Indeed, pressures for greater community control have increased during the past decade.

Given these conditions, how do the schools attempt to handle the problem of relating to their environment? Since the school has little direct insulation against community pressures, it must enhance its autonomy by indirect means. The school cannot fend off intervention by telling the public to mind its own business, because the school is the public's business, legally, informally, and traditionally. Therefore, the school relies upon more subtle methods involving manipulation, secrecy, diplomacy, and the like.

To maximize public support while minimizing public interference, many school systems devote much attention to public relations. They try to create a favorable climate of opinion toward the school by using advertising and promotional techniques prevalent in the business world. One California state superintendent stated that "creating good public relations is education's greatest problem."²⁵

The majority of the nation's school districts employ a full time director of public information, whose duties include preparing news releases, providing materials and manpower for special programs for Flag Day or American Education Week, and preparing the superintendent's annual report.²⁶

While the most obvious manifestations of this public relations orientation are Open House nights and news releases, the concern for public relations also affects other aspects of the school, including curriculum, personnel policies, and even the design of buildings. The consequences, although subtle, are often important.

The danger of emphasis on public relations lies in the possibility that it may divert attention away from other matters more directly related to education. The selection of personnel offers one example. The greater the emphasis given to a candidate's public relations abilities, the less attention will his pedagogical capabilities receive. Theoretically, of course, there is no reason why administrators and teachers cannot be outstanding in both respects, and undoubtedly some individuals are. In actual practice, however, the limited size of the pool from which school personnel are recruited reduces the number of people who excell in both areas. Therefore, selection on the basis of public relations capacities may result in the overlooking of other individuals with superior educational ability but with only moderate public relations potential.²⁷

Concern for public relations may also influence teaching methods and curriculum. Many aspects of current educational practice have a dual role in addition to their pedagogical utility, they may also serve as vehicles for publicizing the school. The methods and activities which lend themselves readily to public relations are more likely to be emphasized than those that are less newsworthy. A classroom full of pupils studying quietly at their desks is not very exciting to most people and would not provide much material for newspaper photographs or articles. On the other hand, Christmas pageants, science fairs, colorful bulletin boards, and classroom displays keep the school in the public eye to a degree that would not be possible under the austere conditions of more traditional styles of education. Athletic events serve a similar function. The pageantry and excitement of basketball and football games can generate a high degree of enthusiasm for the school, and a winning team may evoke even more community pride than an outstanding educational program.²⁸

But this duality of function makes evaluation more difficult. Because some practices have publicity value, they are less likely to be assured purely on the basis of their educational merit or to be modified or discarded if they should happen to be pedagogically unsound. In particular, the pressures of public relations result in a tendency to stress aspects of the school system which are pleasant, tangible, colorful, and exciting, while the subjects or teaching methods which lack these qualities are likely to be neglected.

Education may also be affected by a desire to avoid criticism. Concern for the creation of a favorable public image entails not only emphasis upon positive, tangible aspects but also the suppression of unfavorable matters that might discredit the school system. As long as things seem to be going along smoothly, the public is not likely to interfere with the

operation of the school, but the suspicion that something is wrong may lead to unwanted intervention in school affairs.

The school's insistence that its employees refrain from aberrant or questionable behavior has long been recognized. This intolerance is usually attributed to concern over the exposure of children to unwholesome influences. Such an explanation may account for part of the school's conservatism, but another factor is also involved. The school's sensitivity to criticism heightens its desire to avoid adverse attention and leads in turn to the avoidance of controversy.²⁹

The propensity of parents and other citizens to carry their complaints directly to administrators or board members and the possibly serious consequences of such action make the school and its personnel more cautious than they might otherwise be. The slightest hint of "immoral" or "unpatriotic" activity has resulted in the dismissal of untenured teachers and can make life unpleasant even for tenured teachers.³⁰ Superintendents and principals are also exposed to such pressures, and in some respects they are more vulnerable than teachers. Even if they have tenure, it generally provides no protection against demotion but merely assures them of jobs as classroom instructors. Thus, the administrator who condones the teaching of controversial issues may be treading on dangerous ground.³¹

The desire to avoid controversy, therefore, can have a profound effect upon education in the classroom. Because of the emotion which may be aroused by certain topics, school personnel often consider it advisable not to discuss them at all. Unfortunately, these sensitive areas cover a broad section of the curriculum. Not only economics and political science but even such subjects as archaeology, biology, and history have facets which must be treated cautiously, if not avoided altogether, lest they elicit an undesirable reaction from some element in the community.³² Darwin is still a touchy name in some classrooms.

Another often puzzling aspect of public relations is the withholding of seemingly innocuous information. Part of the reason why schools resist releasing such information to the public may simply be that gathering or providing the data takes time. In addition, however, public awareness might restrict school officials' range of decision. For instance, if the public or teachers knew that a sizable amount of money remained in the budget, they would bring pressure to spend this money — on salaries, equipment, and smaller class size, for example — expenditures which the administration might prefer to avoid in order to minimize expenses and taxes. Consequently, the "discovery" of money in obscure parts of the budget is almost an annual occurrence in some districts. In Richmond, California, for example, when teachers learned that an extra \$1.8 million

had been 'found' in the budget, they demanded a salary increase. The administration, which had previously claimed that there was no money, reluctantly granted the raise.³³

School board meetings are supposedly open to the public, but really important or controversial decisions are often made secretly, in executive sessions from which the public is barred. Public meetings are usually reserved for formal action on issues which have already been decided in private.³⁴ For example, this dialogue took place during a closed session:

Superintendent I'll ask for your approval of this next Tuesday night, unless there's some question now.

Board member This is disagreeing night next Tuesday [public meeting] is agreeing night.

The other board members laughed approvingly.³⁵

At another closed session, board members and superintendent decided to delay discussion of whether the ceiling on a new building should be 12 feet or 14 feet high because, as one member observed 'It's a good harmless thing to talk about in a regular meeting'.³⁶

Closed sessions occur not only in huge urban districts but also in smaller, suburban systems where we might expect school boards to be in closer contact with the community and, therefore, more open. Yet a U.S. Office of Education survey found that 68 percent of suburban districts held at least one executive session a year, and 52 percent of these held six or more executive sessions.³⁷

The result of this very common practice is that public meetings are likely to be dull and uninformative, and the public usually stays away, allowing the school to operate as it wishes.

School Personnel

So far we have examined the school's problems from a rather general perspective. Now it will be helpful to look more closely at the personnel — teachers, administrators, and board members — to see how they fit into the school system and how they relate to its problems.

Nowhere in the process of selecting employees is teaching ability the only consideration. Instead, nonpedagogical factors are operating too. The result is that the school, supposedly an institution for educating children, is staffed by persons chosen for other reasons. Through such people a tendency toward conformity and nonintellectualism is built into the system. This characteristic strongly suggests that changing the schools will not be an easy matter.

Theoretical support for this contention is offered by R. Jean Hills. Ap-

plying the theories of Talcott Parsons, Hills observes that the school is oriented toward maintaining the patterns of society 'The primary responsibility of the educational organization in any society is to maintain the system in its patterned state, not to change the state of the system'³⁸

Certain characteristics of the school follow directly from its functional place in society relative to other institutions, the educational organization is stable and unchanging. This stability is so deeply rooted that the school will reject anything which challenges the system.

No matter how much the object contributes to the capacity of the organization to pursue any goals that may be considered worthwhile, if it is inconsistent with the maintenance of the pattern of its units, it is unacceptable. Thus, the most efficient instructional device in the world will be rejected if it threatens the established, institutionalized pattern. At the very least, the object will be utilized in ways that are compatible with the maintenance of the existing structure.³⁹

This is true not merely of educational methods, philosophies, or equipment

The same point can be made with respect to the recruitment and selection of personnel. The primary concern is not how competent but how committed the individual is to the values of the organization. Thus no matter how competent, a candidate for a teaching appointment who openly expresses unorthodox views about the organization of education is not likely to be a successful candidate. Public school administrators for example would seem more prone to look for personnel who 'fit the pattern' rather than for those who shake things up.⁴⁰

TEACHERS

Although it is sometimes believed that teachers are intellectuals and are likely to have radical ideas this assumption is not true. In fact most teachers are ordinary, conforming middle class Americans, uninterested in revolution or even in much intellectual activity. The process of selection and training makes it unlikely that really unusual people will become public school employees. The individuals who decide to be teachers the training they receive the process of getting hired and receiving tenure pressures from superiors colleagues and parents—all tend to filter out potential rebels and to subdue those few who do actually enter teaching and remain in it. Consequently the vast majority of teachers and educators are rather average people who uphold traditional values.

There is a vast amount of information documenting the intellectual mediocrity of teachers. James D Koerner observes

By about any academic standard that can be applied, students in teacher training programs are among the least able on the campus All major studies that have been made of the subject have arrived at the same conclusion⁴¹

For example, the Selective Service College Qualification Test, an intelligence test with both verbal and quantitative items, was given to half a million college men in order to determine their draft status Education majors scored lowest in every grade during each of the three years the test was given⁴²

The kinds of courses teachers chose in college are also indicative Many American public school teachers did not have an academic major Instead they majored in education teaching methods, school administration, educational philosophy, guidance, and so forth Even those who did have some courses in other fields usually lacked depth in them, taking introductory classes but no advanced work This, too, has been documented by Koerner, who examined the transcripts of college work of many prospective teachers and found such patterns appearing over and over⁴³

Perhaps most significant is the attitude of educators themselves many feel that superior intelligence is not a requisite to successful teaching and, in fact, may even be detrimental to it Other factors, such as adaptability and sympathy for pupils, are believed to be more important⁴⁴

These beliefs, whatever their objective validity might be, are important because they influence two groups (1) young people choosing a career, and (2) decision makers in strategic positions within the educational system The belief that superior ability is unessential attracts some people into teaching who might not have otherwise considered it For example, an education major explained "I learned that engineering required too much theory so I switched to education"⁴⁵ The opinions of education professors and school administrators are also important because they train, recommend, hire, and fire teachers, thereby playing a crucial role in determining what types of people will become part of the schools If professors and administrators believe that superior intelligence is unnecessary or undesirable, the schools will reflect their beliefs

People enter teaching for various reasons It has long been a socially acceptable form of employment, particularly for women who did not want to do manual labor or to remain at home Teaching offers the prestige of a profession without requiring the more demanding preparation of law or medicine It provides an income which, though not large, is steady And for well over a century, until the 1970s, teaching jobs were available in most schools

However, many young people are unprepared for what they actually

find when they begin teaching. Large classes, inadequate educational materials, unruly pupils, administrators who are not expert teachers, and indifferent or hostile parents — all render teaching very different from what many student teachers had expected. In fact, the difference is so large, the realities so harsh, that many new teachers experience what Wagenschein calls "reality shock." They are surprised, disillusioned, angered, numbed. The occupation for which they invested time and effort turns out to be cruelly disappointing. Their hopes for the present are shattered and the thought of teaching for the next thirty or forty years seems intolerable. Instead of being respected professionals performing humanitarian services, they find themselves struggling to keep order, doing clerical tasks, hemmed in by regulations, and looked down upon by administrators, students, and parents.⁴⁶

Teaching in any kind of school may have its difficult aspects, but the impact of the ghetto school can be particularly devastating. Ornstein describes

the intangible, vague problems and petty chores that, when added and accumulated over a long period, have a grave and detrimental effect on almost all teachers, especially those who work in ghetto schools: the inability to find chalk or an eraser so that a well prepared lesson turns into confusion, the receiving of supplies a year late and having to work with an incomplete set of texts, the falling plaster, dimly lit hallways, stale urinal odors, or the cracked window pane that goes unfixed for the whole winter, the unbearable June heat, the bells, gongs, whistles, loudspeakers, meetings, memos, and forms, the rushing between classes, the tasteless food in the teachers' cafeteria, and the shabby, ill furnished teachers' lounge, the stolen purse or wallet, the chalk stained clothing, the constant student harassment, abusive language, students fighting among themselves and with teachers, and finally, the student who flashes a knife or accuses the teacher of racism or sexual advances. Thus teaching becomes at best a drudgery and at worst, a horror.⁴⁷

And so the school places not only the students but the teachers, too, in a struggle for survival. The result, though deplorable, is not surprising.

For his own mental health, then, the teacher often is forced to learn not to care. His apathy protects him, it is his defense.⁴⁸

Not all schools are like this, but too many are. In view of such conditions it hardly seems realistic to expect more from teachers. They are doing well simply to remain in the classroom.

ADMINISTRATORS

Within the category of "administration" may be found such positions as business manager, publicity coordinator, personnel director, deputy superintendent in charge of instruction, and, of course, the superintendent.

himself We will not examine all of these positions in detail, but we should at least note that the superintendent has a wide range of responsibilities, many of which are not directly linked to education finances, community pressures, personnel problems, supplies, sites for new schools, and so forth His job is an extremely difficult one, and in large districts it is becoming almost impossible, so that superintendents are not likely to remain more than a few years in any one school system

The principal, whom we will examine in more detail, has some things in common with the superintendent, for instance, both are very visible to the public and both must deal with pressures that often have very little to do with education The principal is the top official in each school He is responsible for administering the school and supervising its educational program

Many principals have come from small towns and working-class or farm families Their administrative posts have brought them a large increase in social status This opportunity for advancement has been restricted primarily to men although the majority of teachers are women, school administration is evidently considered to be a man's job Seventy-five percent of elementary principals are male In junior high the percentage is 96, and in senior high schools 98 percent of the principals are male⁴⁹

Aside from the issues of fairness in promotion, these statistics on sex bias also raise questions about the capability of principals How much trust should we put in a promotional procedure which automatically excludes the majority of teachers from consideration? Though many women may be "duds," we cannot assume that the men in education are better, yet males provide the pool from which most principals are selected

After reviewing the results of the Selective Service College Qualification tests given to half a million college men during the 1950s, Koerner concluded

This is some of the most comprehensive information available Putting the best possible light on the matter, one must obviously conclude that Education attracts very large numbers of men who consistently exhibit the lowest academic ability of any major group in higher education, far below that of students in the basic academic areas⁵⁰

By this time, a couple of decades later, a number of these men have become administrators in the schools Although we might hope that the particular individuals selected for these important positions would be the

most capable of their cohorts, considerably above the average of all men going into education, there is little evidence to support this hope. Administrators are selected for various qualities unrelated to academic success.⁵¹ Whatever might be their talents in other areas, they definitely are not scholars. A number were not even regular classroom teachers but instead were shop instructors or athletic coaches.

Originally the principal was a "head teacher," performing a few administrative chores in addition to his full time teaching responsibilities.⁵² Now, however, the principalship has become a full time job. Most principals do not teach and have little time for paying close attention to educational issues. Instead their energies are channeled elsewhere, to activities that often have no direct connection with pedagogy to administration, clerical tasks, community work, student discipline, meetings with parents, and so forth.⁵³ And yet, the principal is still expected to be the instructional leader of his school.⁵⁴ He is responsible for what is taught, how it is taught, and who teaches it, and he has considerable power in those important areas.

This discrepancy between what the principal is and what he is expected to be leads to problems of three kinds.⁵⁵ First, he himself may worry that he is not performing the duties generally associated with his job. He may feel uneasy about neglecting education while disciplining naughty children, answering correspondence, talking to custodians, or filling out forms.

Second, other people may encounter difficulties if they expect the principal to be something that he is not. For example, a new teacher, assuming that her principal is an expert on education, may ask him for advice he is unable to give. If the principal is insecure or too busy, he may shift the responsibility back to her, and if she persists in asking for help, he may give her a poor rating or transfer her to another school so that he won't have to be bothered by her.

Third, there is danger to the school, in that the assignment of responsibilities will be unrealistic, placing unreasonable or impossible demands upon a person whose capabilities and concerns are in other areas. Under such conditions, essential tasks may be neglected while other activities, not directly related to the school's objectives, may receive undue attention. For example, a principal who is preoccupied with public relations may neglect educational matters, or when he does take some action he may be excessively influenced by nonpedagogical considerations. In choosing textbooks, for instance, he may select those that happen to be most acceptable to the public rather than books that might be best for the pupils.

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SCHOOL BOARDS

Finally we must look at the board of education and its members. Few facets of the public school offer as vivid a contrast between formal and informal structure. School board members supposedly are representatives of the public, appointed or elected to safeguard the community's interests. Instead, they often do just the opposite, protecting the school or the school administration from the public.⁵⁶

Why do they act this way? The answer is obvious enough in cases where board members are appointed—they are serving the interest of a particular individual or group having power in the community and wanting something from the school—for example, contracts for new buildings, firing of "radical" or "racist" teachers, or redrawing school district boundaries.

But many school board members are not appointed; they are elected by the public. Yet they, too, are likely to serve the interests of the school administration rather than that of the community. Why is this? The explanation is that board members often become alienated from the public and become more concerned with staying on good terms with the superintendent and other board members. Several factors contribute to this situation:

The absence of clearly defined constituencies to watch over the board member after he is elected gives him some leeway to do as he wishes. The newly elected board member's lack of knowledge regarding school procedures forces him to rely on other board members and school administrators. These officials want him to be docile, and they put pressure on him to be so. The public's ignorance and criticism of the board makes board members cynical about trying to represent the community, and therefore they are more open to pressure from the superintendent. The superintendent's concern for his professional image as an efficient administrator, or merely his desire to get the job done as easily as possible, leads him to manipulate the school board into supporting his wishes. Thus, board members come to accept the superintendent's definition of the situation, and try to justify his actions to the public.

Through this process the school board and the administration play a part quite different from that usually ascribed to them. Of course, there are exceptions—occasionally strong-willed reformers do succeed in retaining their initial determination throughout several years on the school board and may even bring about a few reforms. Usually, however, new board members are worn down to the point where they give up their original aims, yielding to the majority or not running for reelection.

Proposals for Reform

In recent years there have been many proposals for making the schools more effective. This section examines some of the most prominent suggestions: accountability, relevance, integration and busing, decentralization, and community control.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Many people think that schools are drifting aimlessly and therefore should have more clearly defined objectives; they suggest accountability as a remedy. Indeed, accountability has become one of the most frequently prescribed solutions for the ills of education at all levels, for higher education as well as for elementary and secondary schools. Many school boards and state legislatures are adopting accountability systems. Yet several problems remain, the most fundamental being that, for all its intricate machinery, an accountability system does not resolve the basic question of what the school's objectives should be.

Accountability is concerned with improving pupils' performance, reducing costs, and controlling school personnel. Some accountability programs concentrate on "cost benefit analysis," others stress "performance contracting," and still others emphasize "planning, programming, and budgeting systems" (PPBS). Although their details may vary, most plans share three basic characteristics: (1) a limited set of objectives, (2) a measure of output, often only a single measure, such as achievement test scores, (3) rewards for employees who do well and punishment for those who do not.⁵⁷

While the aims of accountability sound reasonable—holding people responsible for their work, controlling costs, and so forth—there are some drawbacks to the actual programs. One such drawback is the assigning of *all* the responsibility for pupils' progress to the teacher.

everyone, including teachers and school administrators, should be held responsible for their work. But what many educators object to, even fear, is the over simplified concept that defines accountability as the sole responsibility of the teacher or principal.⁵⁸

Actually, many other people share some responsibility for pupils' performance: parents, school board members, local residents, government officials, and certainly the pupil himself. These people influence, in varying degrees, the pupils' motivation, health, intellectual background, and so forth, all of which affect learning.

Another related objection is that teachers should have some voice in planning. The National Education Association

believes that educators can be accountable only to the degree that they share responsibility in educational decision making and to the degree that other parties who share this responsibility—legislators, other government officials, school boards, parents, students, and taxpayers—are also held responsible⁵⁹

Other criticisms are that the elaborate preplanning involved in accountability is too time consuming, imposes undesirable rigidity upon teaching, and does not necessarily lead to better learning⁶⁰

Another serious disadvantage is the built in tendency to determine goals primarily by cost rather than by educational value. Classes are not evaluated on the basis of their educational benefits but rather on how much money they will cost. This has proved to be the case in the past, for accountability systems are not new, they were in vogue in the early part of this century, and the results were sometimes ridiculous⁶¹. For example, a Massachusetts superintendent, addressing the 1913 annual meeting of superintendents in the NEA, described the relative dollar values or more precisely the costs, of various subjects taught in his high schools. He reported that

59 recitations in Greek are of the same value as 238 pupil recitations in French, that 12 pupil recitations in science are equivalent in value to 192 pupil recitations in English and that it takes 417 pupil recitations in vocal music to equal the value of 139 pupil recitations in art.⁶²

He went on to assert that these costs should determine the curriculum "we ought to purchase no more Greek instruction at the rate of 59 pupil recitations per dollar. The price must go down, or we shall invest in something else."⁶³

Another objection is that most accountability plans arbitrarily impose goals upon teachers. Objectives are rammed down their throats without getting the teachers' advice on the educational worth of the goals. This policy is unwise, not just because it violates democratic principles and hurts teachers' feelings. It is unwise for two pragmatic reasons.

First, goals selected without the advice of classroom teachers are unlikely to be very effective, because they will not be based on realistic appraisals of the classroom situation. As we have observed, schools have already been drifting dangerously under the present system, in which teachers have little voice in decisions. Accountability would remove the decision making still further from the classroom and therefore still further from reality.

A second practical problem is that arbitrary goals, autocratically selected and imposed, will not receive the necessary support of subordinates responsible for implementing them. Teachers will be less

committed to goals chosen without their advice. As studies of various organizations have shown, commitment is important, otherwise employees will find ways of resisting or subverting goals.⁶⁴ Informal procedures will develop to circumvent formal policies, and other unanticipated problems will appear. If teachers are rewarded or punished on the basis of their students' test scores, cheating by teachers as well as by students is inevitable. Teachers will find ways to raise these scores, by fair means or by foul.

Underlying all these objections is the basic point accountability does not suggest what, specifically, the schools' goals should be.

RELEVANCE

Education, some people claim, can be improved by making school "relevant." Relevance is generally understood to mean an obvious relation to a student's interest or experience. Of course, different people are interested in different things. There is no one specific view of what constitutes relevance. This lack of consensus poses a problem in implementing relevance. It is difficult to determine what really is pertinent now, and it is even more difficult to predict what will be relevant in the future.⁶⁵

Some teachers try to be relevant by wearing the kind of clothes students wear, adopting students' hair styles, using currently fashionable words, assigning current paperbacks, and discussing—or at least referring to—currently "in" topics. There is no objection to these efforts at establishing rapport with students and arousing their interest as long as these efforts do not completely replace basic subjects like reading, computation, and knowledge of civilization's accomplishments and problems. If a teacher can tie these essential topics in with students' current interests, so much the better.

There is a danger, however, that vital subjects will be discarded simply because they have been around for a long time. For example, in an article entitled, "Is Your High School Obsolete?" Toffler asks whether the curriculum is oriented toward the future. According to Toffler, traditional courses like social studies, art, English, and music tell students how things were; they should now move into the ways things will be. Toffler also asks whether there are rigidly stringent requirements, whether the work is largely routine, and whether students have a voice in curriculum and rules.⁶⁶ These are worthwhile considerations, but the implication of many pleas for relevance is that all structured education is bad and that students should completely determine what they study.

A basic problem with relevance is that pupils, especially younger ones,

do not really know what is good for them They may know what they are interested in but this is not necessarily in their best interest They are not aware of all the opportunities open to them In spite of modern technology, and perhaps because of it, young people's range of active, personal experience has in some respects been reduced Television, for all its potentialities, offers merely a substitute the viewer watches others, he does not do things himself Experience based only on being a passive spectator provides a shallow, superficial basis for relevance

Relevance is often confused with entertainment, but activities really relevant for a pupil's future may not always be pleasant, and may sometimes require hard work A school which allows pupils to slide by without really trying is not preparing them for the realities of adult life — at least not one in which they must work to attain success — and therefore such a school is not really relevant

OPEN EDUCATION

Related to the problem of relevance is open education, which is based on the principle that school activities should be determined by the needs and interests of the pupils rather than by the teacher Current interest in this progressive approach has been revived by the example of Britain's infant schools, roughly equivalent to our primary grades The atmosphere in these schools is relaxed, spontaneous, and informal The distinction between work and play is minimized Children are given freedom to move around the room They learn to talk with other pupils and learn from them They may also explore the learning centers in the classroom Formalized instruction by the teacher is minimized

Proponents of open education say that traditional subjects have received too much emphasis, and that other activities, such as self expression and creativity, are just as important To the extent that basic skills are needed, advocates of open education have faith in the child's natural curiosity and development, maintaining that children do learn such skills as reading and computation, and that these are learned in an almost random manner, through experiment and discovery The pupil's motivation is vitally important in learning, therefore, play, creativity, and individuality are encouraged through games and objects of many kinds

Of course, some teachers are reluctant to permit the freedom and the noise involved in open education Perhaps more crucial, many parents worry that their children will not learn the basic skills and thus will be handicapped when applying for college or seeking a job Consequently, much education is "open" merely in superficial respects, leading

one writer to suggest that the trouble with open education, like progressive education or Christianity, is that it has never really been tried At any rate, the debate between progressives and traditionalists in education is an ancient one and will continue for a long time to come

INTEGRATION AND BUSING

Perhaps the most familiar suggestions for ending educational inequality are integration and busing

The rationale for integration is that minority students in segregated schools are deprived of material and intangible benefits enjoyed by white, middle class pupils Since less money has been allotted to minority schools, they usually are shabby, crowded, and poorly equipped There is a high teacher turnover as the better, more experienced teachers transfer to middle class schools The atmosphere of the segregated ghetto school does not encourage pupils to value education or to aspire to desirable jobs

These problems, it is claimed, can be alleviated by desegregating schools Therefore, some integrationists urge the realignment or elimination of school attendance boundaries, which have often been gerrymandered to promote segregated schools Yet there are limits to this procedure It may be feasible in small, heterogeneous communities, but it is not practical in large cities, where ghettos stretch for many blocks and the nearest white, middle class school is miles away

Here is where busing enters the picture as a means for achieving racial balance The Supreme Court, responding to numerous questions, has endorsed busing and has tried to clarify some of the related issues Busing, declared the Court, may be necessary to achieve effective desegregation In addition, the ethnic ratio at each school need not exactly match the racial composition of the entire school district, a "small number" of all black or nearly all black schools may be acceptable in certain cases, but the school authorities must be able to prove that they were not the result of deliberate discrimination⁶⁷

We can expect that eventually the courts will eliminate the traditional distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* segregation, and will be more concerned with the *effect* of school board decisions rather than with their *intent*

The most significant legal question remaining is whether courts can order children bused across school district lines, or whether school districts can be forced to merge Combining suburban districts, mainly white, with inner city districts, mainly nonwhite, could open the way for a busing program leading to more equitable racial balance Lawsuits

with this intent involving Detroit and Richmond, Virginia, have already reached the Supreme Court. Even these decisions are likely to be challenged and the question may ultimately be decided by constitutional amendment.

Busing may work in some situations but not in others. Three kinds of situations can be discerned:

- 1 Busing seems practical in heterogeneous neighborhoods where segregation was at one time required by law. In such communities, mainly in the South, two or more races live in the same general area but attend separate, segregated schools.
- 2 Busing also seems practical in small or medium sized communities like Berkeley, where the distance between rich and poor, black and white neighborhoods — and schools — are not so great that transportation of many pupils is required.
- 3 Busing is less practical in large metropolitan areas.⁶⁸ These central cities are already predominantly black or are constituted of other depressed minorities. Consequently, even if more money were available for busing thousands of students, there would be no place nearby — no white, middle class school — to bus them to. Furthermore, the problem is getting worse: central cities, instead of becoming integrated, are increasingly composed of minorities. Only a massive program of relocating urban residents and rebuilding the entire central city could offset the present trend, and such a program seems unlikely in the near future. As a result, demographic trends will eventually make busing a dead issue.

Nevertheless, busing in particular and integration in general continue to be discussed. The NAACP in North Carolina supports busing as a step toward total integration of all citizens and a majority of parents in Berkeley favor busing. California's Governor Reagan opposed it because of the terrific costs involved, and a parent objected because children were treated like cattle. Even the Supreme Court acknowledged that the objection to transporting children may have validity when time or distance are so great as to endanger their health or significantly impinge on the educational process.⁶⁹

It is important to realize that opponents of integration are not necessarily conservative whites. Minority members, too, are questioning the desirability of school integration. They are asking whether integration will really help them, or whether they will simply be lost in the mass of white students. Some blacks, Indians, and other minority people have decided that they will have a better chance to develop their abilities in segregated schools especially designed to fit their individual needs.

DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

The schools' preoccupation with administration has led to the neglect of educational issues, particularly regarding specific cases. School districts are centralized, with authority concentrated at the upper levels of the managerial hierarchy, so that the needs of individual pupils, teachers, or schools are often ignored. The most familiar proposals for remedying this neglect are decentralization and community control. These two terms are often used interchangeably, but there is an important difference between them.

Decentralization, according to the National Education Association, "is the distribution of functional responsibility from a central authority to a regional or local authority. A decentralized school plan splits up the school district for more efficient administration."⁷⁰ The term *decentralization* is often confused with the term *community control*, but they have different purposes in spite of their similar appearance. Decentralization is simply a method of increasing administrative efficiency. "In no way does it imply or guarantee community control of schools. The orders still come from the top, the educator is still responsible to the central administration on substantive matters, and the educator still receives both rewards and punishments on the basis of carrying out central office policies — even when they conflict with local needs."⁷¹

In contrast to decentralization, community control gives decision-making authority to people who live in the community. Local residents decide such matters as educational policy, choice of texts, and hiring and firing of faculty. While both decentralization and *community control* refer to the same general procedure, they differ with respect to who actually has the power. In decentralization the school administrator has the last word, in *community control* the local residents have the final power.

This distinction may seem like quibbling over a trivial matter of semantics, but the difference is crucial. It boils down to whether the school shall be controlled by the administration or by the local community. In most cases so far, while it may seem difficult to distinguish between the two, school administrators have retained the ultimate authority.

Nevertheless, educators are approaching *community control* cautiously. Although they are reluctant to give up their authority,

there is genuine interest in closing the gulf between parents and community, on the one hand, and the professionals, on the other. Thus, some significant concessions have been made—for example, initiating administrative decentralization or granting parent groups a voice in the selection of administrative personnel (though the selection is limited to a pool still regulated by the

profession) How durable and meaningful the concessions are depends on continued community surveillance Withdrawal or dilution of concessions by the dominant system may, by rubbing discontents, actually serve to intensify demands for full community control On the other hand, it is possible that real community control might be staved off indefinitely by extremely skillful school officials who combine limited concessions with the abandonment of some old habits of inflexibility and dogma and movement in the direction of change⁷²

Fantini notes that evidence of this tendency is already appearing⁷³ Nevertheless, the concept of community control has had some beneficial effects, even in such gigantic systems as New York City's In contrast to its previous lack of response to reform efforts, the school system recently has not rebounded to the status quo Parents throughout the city are more assertive about holding educators accountable for the schools

As in many educational issues, the benefits of decentralization and community control are not clear cut Postman and Weingartner observe that centralization is one of our 'best protections against the tyranny of provincialism'⁷⁴ What prevents a local community from prohibiting blacks or any other group from attending its schools? The answer is, the federal government, the largest centralized agency in the nation In fact, the federal judicial system has probably done more in recent decades than any other institution to guard against the infringement of civil liberties Of course, centralized authority can run amok, or can be so rigid that reform becomes virtually impossible Yet localized power also can be exercised in a capricious, tyrannical way How can students, teachers, and administrators be protected from the irresponsible application of authority? How can a minimum degree of quality be assured if a local authority fails to supply it? How can we guarantee a fair system of financing? The dilemma at the center of the decentralization controversy is how to achieve decentralization without losing all the advantages of centralization⁷⁵

Lloyd Bishop's study of twenty one systems in the Los Angeles area indicates that, contrary to expectations, bureaucratization *increased* acceptance of reform The more bureaucratic the school system's organization, the greater is its ability to accommodate change⁷⁶

Robert Calvo examines the advantages and disadvantages of decentralization, emphasizing that educational policies are easier to change when the board is accessible to local residents, parental involvement is more likely, and stale methods and ideas may be aired out On the other hand, he points out, decentralization can promote bias on all levels of education, from students to administration Teachers feel threatened if

promotion is based on race rather than merit. The fact that local boards try to influence promotion and tenure may worry teachers enough to make them hesitate to teach in a centralized district. Successful decentralization, according to Calvo, must meet several requirements. Local districts must have budgetary power and the authority to formulate general policies. Moreover, the geographical area comprising each district must be well defined, with a sense of community based, for example, on common race or nationality or, at least, on common complaints about certain educational policies.⁷⁷

Yet this political separateness, observes Buckley, opens the door to educational apartheid. Decentralization can be used as a facade for what is really an act of segregation. If we draw the boundary for a decentralized district around the perimeter of a black community, we are legitimately doing an illegitimate act. Segregation is illegal, but if you call it decentralization you can get away with it.⁷⁸

Still another problem involves the difficulty of determining who "the community" actually is. As Postman and Weingartner observe, it often turns out that the community is only what some particularly aggressive person or group says it is. A few people demanding that a teacher be fired can claim to represent the community, how can they be disproved? Or a timid administrator can justify a policy by stating that it represents the will of the community—and there will probably be at least a few people who would support it. "The truth is that every community is dozens of communities, and the only way to resolve who should control what is through the ballot."⁷⁹

A classic illustration of the problems of decentralization and community control occurred in New York City in the late 1960s, when a local school board in the Ocean Hill Brownsville district was granted considerable authority over the schools. Subsequently, nineteen teachers and supervisors were transferred or fired to make way for black teachers. In protest, teachers all over the city went on strike. Eventually, the experimental district was abolished, and absorbed into a larger district within the New York City system.⁸⁰

Yet when all these points have been raised, the fact remains that many ordinary people feel that the school system is ignoring them—and they usually are correct.

Conclusions

The goals of the American public school, as we have seen, are vague, overly ambitious, and contradictory. Being vague, they do not provide meaningful guides for decisions on specific, day-to-day issues. Being

overly ambitious, they force schools to try to do too many things, with the result that few things are done well. And being contradictory, schools sometimes work for mutually exclusive ends, so that success in one area automatically means failure in another.

POSSIBILITIES

One way to alleviate this problem would be to simplify goals, narrowing them to the point where they were more clearly defined. This simplification would have at least two beneficial results. First, less ambitious goals would have more chance of being achieved. Schools would try fewer things, but could do these few things better because resources would be more concentrated. Second, a simple, clearly stated set of objectives would make it easier to refuse other potentially troublesome requests. There would be less chance that all sorts of goals would be imposed upon the schools. It would be easier for educators to say, "No, that is not our job."

CURRICULA AND METHODS What might such objectives be? One suggestion would be competence in the three Rs, followed by a broad background in liberal arts. The first few grades of elementary school should focus upon the basic skills of literacy and computation: reading, spelling, and arithmetic. With this firm foundation there would be fewer poor readers. By the time students reached the upper elementary grades, they could be exploring the arts, sciences, and humanities more effectively than they do now.

The argument that six year-olds are "not ready" to read is too often an excuse to cover up inadequate teaching methods. A good phonics system should be used from the very beginning in place of the unstructured sight recognition method now prevalent. Phonics provides a set of rules for figuring out, "decoding," most words in the English language. Though many educators oppose phonics because they claim, ghetto children have difficulty learning rules, it is no more difficult learning a dozen rules than trying to memorize thousands of words without the aid of rules. Besides, these minority and poor children are quite able to master the often intricate rules of many activities they engage in outside the classroom.

Drill, too, is attacked by many educators but again, youngsters, even in ghettos, voluntarily spend much of their free time in repetitive practice for athletics and other activities. Drill is not inevitably bad. Like many things, it can be misused, but it can also be valuable — and satisfying — to students.

It is ironic that many educators talk about variety, but in practice they actually follow a bland middle path, discouraging both the intensive drill and the really free, open expression which together could add genuine

variety to education Emphasizing fundamentals in the early grades and putting *some* structure into a simplified curriculum would *not* require a return to the harsh, punishment-oriented past Teachers can stress the three Rs and still be gentle, humane, and concerned with pupils' feelings

Classes can become more structured in some areas and more open in others Education should not be an either-or proposition Both firmness and freedom are needed

ATTENDANCE We must also reexamine compulsory education Should all pupils be required to finish high school, regardless of their interests or their goals? Ideally it would be desirable to educate everyone, but in practice we seem unable to do so Getting a pupil to school is one thing, educating him is something else The mere fact that he is in a classroom does not necessarily mean that he learns much Moreover, there is little hope that the schools will improve radically It may therefore be better to allow pupils to leave school after they are fourteen or when they graduate from the eighth grade

Lowering the compulsory attendance requirement would have several advantages It would reduce the number of students over these ages, taking the pressure off secondary schools and allowing decisions to be made more on educational grounds than is currently the case Resources now used primarily to keep nonmotivated students in school and under control could then be redirected to other uses For example, in 1970 public schools employed 5,622 psychologists and 46,189 guidance personnel⁸¹ Many of these were in secondary schools, where they were occupied to a considerable extent with pupils who did not really want to stay in school Without the continuing distractions and disturbances now created by these captive students, the job of educating the remaining, motivated students would be easier

We are not proposing that dropouts or people who leave school as soon as they have completed the minimum legal requirement should be ignored Far from it—it would be important to offer them other educational opportunities, opportunities which would be really meaningful to *them* For example, they should have the option of resuming their education later on Indeed, they should be encouraged to do so, by such measures as free tuition and perhaps by partial living allowances Another possibility would be specialized schools, where youngsters could pursue their occupational or avocational interests as soon as they dropped out of the regular school

Neither of these alternatives is new, some districts have had them for decades However, they should be expanded, brought up to date, approached openly with less stigma, and viewed as an integral, equal part of the educational system

TEACHERS Teachers are the most crucial part of the school system Few people would deny that their effectiveness should be improved, but the question is how? Certainly not by imposing even more constraints, demands, and expectations on them but, instead, reducing these pressures The problem is not one of forcing teachers to teach but rather of allowing them to teach Teaching too often degenerates into a fight for survival It is not so much a battle against physical attacks, although these do occur, but rather the continuous daily struggle to keep from being buried under an avalanche of responsibilities Simplifying the school's objectives would help, and so would lowering the age for compulsory attendance

CLASS SIZE Another aid would be smaller classes This could be the most revolutionary educational innovation of our times a room with ten pupils and a teacher, a teacher respected by the community and not harassed by the school bureaucracy Both pupils and teacher would enjoy the benefits of what sociologists call "primary relations" respecting people as unique individuals important for their own sake rather than as merely impersonal means to some other ends This change would do more to improve public schools than all the supervisors, administrators, highly paid consultants, and complex equipment combined

If the expense of hiring more teachers for such a system seems too high, the pupils could attend school for only part of the day A couple of hours in a small class would do more for the students than attending all day under present conditions

At this point we would probably hear protests against letting students out of school early, but we would have exposed the custodial function of the school One way to handle this problem of supervision, in areas where parents are away from home would be an expanded recreational program at the school, the playground, or in store-front facilities This kind of program would naturally require more money, and it leads to discussion of another needed reform

FINANCE Schools should be financed on a state and federal level rather than on a local basis As it now stands, dependency upon the local district does not provide the stability which would be afforded by a broader tax base Local revenue is susceptible to wide fluctuation, and the possibility of this fluctuation has undesirable consequences both outside and within the school

Power holders in the community use the possible reduction of funds as a threat to influence the schools School administrators aware of the economic facts of life, often respond by being overly cautious about offending major businesses or, for that matter, any power bloc in the

community But even more basic, the school's dependence upon an unstable source of revenue has encouraged the development of public relations as a major activity of school administrators Consequently, the need for a large cadre of administrators would be reduced if the school's revenue could be stabilized

Of course, moving finances to the state and federal levels would have its disadvantages too rigidity, red tape, less awareness of local conditions, a step toward government control These are valid fears but, in the case of the American public schools, finance at the state and federal levels is the lesser of two evils As it is now, there is too much vulnerability to local economic pressures and too wide a disparity between rich and poor districts Though there certainly is a possibility that government financing will lead to control, the two do not necessarily have to go together

PREDICTIONS

Predictions are risky, yet we can assume that the underlying pressures upon the schools will persist Consequently, the school must continue its efforts to cope with them It is also likely that the school's response will be about the same in the future as in the past, because individuals and organizations tend to rely on familiar, habitual procedures, even if these have not been entirely successful

First, the problem of goals is apt to persist The aims of the school will continue to be vague, unrealistically ambitious, and sometimes even contradictory, reflecting the varied views of the American population This situation is not new Although the Puritan settlers believed that children should be taught to read in order to learn the commandments of God, religious diversity was a major factor delaying the establishment of a common public school system Today religious differences have decreased but ethnic diversity persists In addition there are other differences North-South, city-suburban, young old, rich poor, and so forth As in the past and the present, some of these groups will carry their struggles to the schools The nation's 200 million citizens do not agree with each other today, and there is little reason to expect more homogeneity in the near future

Second, the custodial problem is an extremely difficult one, which has its roots in profound currents influencing Western civilization It affects not only the schools and the young but other institutions and age groups too For the first time in history, large numbers of people are no longer needed for producing the necessities of life Food, clothing and shelter can be provided with far less manpower than ever before Urbanization, automation, agricultural technology, and improved medical care have

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increased the number of people who are not engaged in the basic production of goods and services. They are free to direct their energies elsewhere. But where? There is little useful labor for them to do. Consequently, the elderly are put in rest homes, the able-bodied face unemployment, a shorter work week, or enforced leisure, which many are unprepared to enjoy, and the young run the streets or are put in schools to keep them out of mischief.

Third, the trend toward bigness continues, bringing with it the attendant ills of bureaucracy, red tape, and impersonality. Enrollments have been increasing since public school systems came into existence in the early 1800s. By 1870 there were 7 million pupils, and a century later there were 46 million. For a while the number of separate school districts also increased, reaching about 200,000 in 1920.⁸² Since that time, however, the number of districts has drastically decreased, to 16,838 in 1971. During this fifty year period the enrollment grew by 24 million, so there were twice as many pupils but less than one-tenth the number of districts.⁸³

Perhaps the most dramatic indication of increasing size is the disappearance of the one teacher school, a familiar feature of America's past. In 1918 there were 196,037 of these one teacher schools, but by 1971 the number had dwindled to 1,815.⁸⁴ Thus, only one out of a hundred survived the half century, and their extinction seems not far off. For better or worse, enormity is a keynote of American education.

Fourth, the previous discussion of goals has already suggested that autonomy will continue to be a problem. Although the growth of schools into large bureaucracies and the socialization of new school board members reduce the actual amount of control usually exerted by ordinary citizens, the potential for community intervention nevertheless remains as a permanent source of unwelcome uncertainty for school personnel.

In sum, the forces which gave rise to the schools' present conditions are likely to continue. We therefore may expect that many of these conditions, characteristics, procedures and attitudes will also persist, unless concerted efforts are made to change them. Moreover, these efforts must be directed at the underlying causes of the problem rather than simply at the surface symptoms.

SUMMING UP

Much of the frustration about American public schools results from misunderstanding their nature. There is often a vast difference between what schools are supposed to do and what they are actually doing. The school is involved in several activities, only one of which is education. As a custodial institution, the school is responsible for keeping juveniles

out of mischief until they can be fitted into socially acceptable positions in an increasingly automated economy. As a large organization, the school is concerned with its own survival, which requires, among other things, a steady income, the minimizing of internal conflicts, and protection against outside interference. Schools are also the place of work for their employees, thus involving not only the hopes and fears of pupils and their parents, but also the ambitions and disappointments of teachers, administrators, and other personnel. Educational problems would be difficult enough by themselves, but when these other massive undercurrents are ignored, the chances of improving the schools become very slim indeed.

If meaningful changes are to be made, we must abandon the feverish search for instant solutions. Improvements will not come through frantic adoption of the latest fads and gadgets but rather from laborious, unglamorous, and even painful work, including analysis of basic issues in our society. What do Americans *really* want from the public school and what price are they willing to pay? This price may involve more than money—it may require the changing of cherished beliefs, and many people will have to accept some things they do not want. For example, we may have to alter our assumptions that new educational methods are necessarily better than old ones, that large classes and large schools can efficiently handle large numbers of students, that all adolescents must be in school, that the school can cope with all the tasks dumped upon it by society, and that all of the school's energies are directed solely toward education. We may have to return to a simpler curriculum, reduce class size, relax compulsory education requirements, stop expecting the schools to solve all our personal and social problems, and recognize that schools are organizations, susceptible to the same kinds of human, social tensions confronting other institutions.

Notes

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Suggestions for Further Reading

- American Federation of Teachers *American Teacher* Washington, D C, 1012 14th Street, NW, 20005 This monthly journal provides news of current education developments seen from the perspective of the more militant of the two major teacher organizations
- Callahan, Raymond E *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1962 This review of early twentieth-century attempts to measure schools' efficiency by economic criteria suggests some of the dangers of today's movement toward "accountability"
- Grambs Jean Dresden *Schools, Scholars and Society* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1965 A concise analysis of schools by a former secondary teacher
- Hipple, Theodore W (ed) *Crucial Issues in Contemporary Education* Pacific Palisades, California Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc, 1973 A collection of articles, by educators and laymen, on such topics as student unrest, teacher education, accountability, and racism in the schools
- Koerner, James D *The Miseducation of American Teachers* Baltimore, Maryland

land Penguin Books 1965 A study of 63 teacher training institutions, which is critical of their students, faculty and courses, and which offers suggestions for improvement

Kozol, Jonathan *Death at an Early Age* New York Bantam Books, 1967 The story of an idealistic teacher who was fired by the Boston schools for using a poem that was not on the prescribed list of reading materials

Libarle, Marc and Tom Seligson, (eds) *The High School Revolutionaries* New York Random House, Vintage Books, 1970 Interviews with and essays by twenty one students from various schools and backgrounds

National Education Association *Today's Education* Washington, D C This monthly magazine is a useful source of current information on public schools and on educational issues in general

Postman Neil, and Charles Weingartner *The School Book*, New York Delacorte Press 1973 A readable reference book, explaining many educational terms and theories, and describing seventy people important in education today

Rogers David *110 Livingston Street* New York Random House, 1969 A detailed account of politics and bureaucracy in the New York City schools

Swift, David W *Ideology and Change in the Public Schools* Columbus, Ohio Charles E Merrill Publishing Co, 1971 This book provides a more detailed analysis of the nonpedagogical problems discussed in this chapter, and suggests that progressive educational philosophy helped school personnel to cope with these problems

Thomas, Donald R *The Schools Next Time* New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973 An education professor discusses the differences between sociology and education and applies sociological concepts to busing, decentralization, student alienation, and other contemporary issues

Volkart, Edmund "Learning and Entertainment Values in Collision," *B C Teacher* Vancouver, B C, Canada British Columbia Teachers Federation, 53 no 1 (September-October 1973), 8-11 ff A sociologist examines the profound impact of television upon public school pupils

CATHOLIC EDUCATION

BENJAMIN J. HODGKINS

Non Catholics know little about the Catholic educational system, although 3.8 million pupils were enrolled in the 10,534 Catholic schools in 1973.¹ Among the reasons for this neglect is the lack of empirical research on Catholic schools. Regardless of the reasons, the need for a better understanding of Catholic education was never more urgent than now, when the system is in dire financial and social difficulties.

This chapter examines Catholic elementary and secondary education from a "general systems" perspective. This perspective analyzes a school, society, or any other institution, as a set of interrelated parts, organized to achieve particular goals. Instead of focusing upon the various parts as independent, self contained units, the general systems approach is concerned with the system as a whole. Consequently this chapter provides an overall view of Catholic education rather than looking at specific aspects of Catholic schools or students. We will particularly emphasize the relationship of the Catholic educational system to its

environment, as reflected in Catholic goals and environmental constraints.³

We shall begin by focusing on the development of Catholic education in the United States. After that we shall analyze system characteristics of Catholic education and the manner in which they are related to the environment. Finally, we shall examine some of the major contemporary concerns of Catholic education along with their implications for the future of the Catholic system in America.

Development of Catholic Education

Catholic education is an anachronism. Church supported schools were at one time the rule in American society, not the exception.⁴ It was only in the mid nineteenth century that the idea of common public schools emerged as the dominant form of education. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when religion occupied a much greater part of men's lives, education was primarily the responsibility of the family and the church. To be educated (for other than the wealthy) meant, to a large extent, to be able to read the Bible, sign one's name, and use simple arithmetic. The tiny Catholic minority (approximately thirty thousand at the time of the American Revolution)⁵ had little hope of sustaining a significant educational system for its young. They lived in a hostile environment engendered by centuries of Protestant and Catholic conflict in Europe. The enemies of the colonists in the New World were Catholic Spain to the south and Catholic France to the north. As frequently happens, religious loyalty and national loyalty were clouded, and "papists" were viewed as potential traitors as well as a threat to the religious convictions of the Protestant colonists.⁶ Therefore, any hope of the small Catholic minority to develop a Catholic school system during this period was impeded by the socioreligious climate of the times.

Nevertheless, some Catholic schools were established. In 1640 the Jesuits started a school in Maryland, and in 1673 established a second school. Both of these were short lived. In the early eighteenth century another school was established in Maryland by the Jesuits; it lasted until 1765. During this time, several German Catholic schools also existed in Pennsylvania.⁷ These and other efforts were usually limited in scope and success. Faced with the hardships of colonial existence in a hostile environment, Catholic Americans were not encouraged to seek education.

RESPONSE TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

For the masses of common people, both Catholic and non Catholic, education did not become significant until the beginning of the industrial

revolution and the influx of large numbers of Catholic immigrants after the War of 1812. Oddly enough, it was the development of the public common school that was most instrumental in creating the Catholic educational system during the nineteenth century. The common school movement had to overcome not only the traditional resistance to state interference in education but also a variety of sectarian beliefs. Led by such people as Horace Mann, the advocates of the common school vigorously supported the teaching of Christian religious beliefs in school. However, the variety of Protestant denominations made it necessary to compromise to the point where only nonsectarian beliefs would be taught. The Bible was to be the focus of such teaching.⁸

The close association between religion and education on the part of Protestants is easily understood when the socioreligious context of nineteenth century American society is taken into account. Religion and the family were considered the primary socializing agencies of society. It was only when the democracy was faced with the political and economic problems connected with industrial growth that some political control over education became acceptable to most Americans. Such an acceptance was not total, however. What emerged in public education was a compromise between the secular needs of an industrial society and traditional religious convictions regarding the appropriate educational experience. Since the majority of Americans were Protestant, ritual and beliefs consistent with Protestant teachings were considered appropriate for the schools. Thus, Protestant Bible reading, hymns, and prayers were construed as a "normal" part of the educational experience.

CONFFLICT WITH PROTESTANTS The success of the common school movement, tied as it was to Protestant religious teachings and established in an era of strong anti-Catholic emotions, was interpreted by Catholics as a threat to Catholicism. Partly as a response to this threat, the first official pressure to build separate Catholic schools occurred in 1829 at the meeting of the provincial Council of Catholicity in Baltimore.⁹ Not until the meeting of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, however, were these urgings translated into a mandate to work toward the ideal of enrolling all Catholic children in Catholic schools.

In many respects, it was harder for Catholics to accept the idea of separate schools than it had been for the larger society to accept the idea of a common public school. Given the pressures for more education in a rapidly industrializing society, the Protestant majority had only to agree on a common religious ground for such schools in order to be convinced of the basic viability of the common school principle. For Catholics, however, the issues were more complicated. Most Catholics, like most Americans in the nineteenth century, had to be convinced that

formal education was necessary at all. Furthermore, like most Americans, Catholics believed that the primary responsibility for education rested with the family and the church. Having been convinced of the need for universal education, they were confronted with a rapidly growing state-supported educational system that opposed many of their religious beliefs. However, to insist upon a completely secular system was to raise the specter of a "Godless" education. Such an alternative was as unattractive to Catholics as a Protestant-dominated public school system.

This dilemma for Catholics was demonstrated by the educational conflict between Catholics and Protestants in New York during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Having accepted the principle of state support for education, communities had begun using tax monies for common schools. These common schools were largely controlled by quasi-private organizations. Such organizations were usually highly influenced, if not completely dominated, by Protestant clergy who were frequently anti-Catholic. This was the situation in New York City, where large numbers of Catholics lived. The Public School Society, a private benevolent organization, received state money to establish and maintain the city's educational system. Protestant and frequently anti-Catholic, this organization effectively controlled course offerings and content in the city's schools. Accordingly, Catholics had to choose between three basic alternatives in educating their children: (1) send them to schools where Protestant beliefs were taught, (2) petition the state for funds to build and maintain separate schools, or (3) establish and support their own separate school system.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A SEPARATE SYSTEM Initially, Catholics sought state support for separate Catholic schools. Under Bishop Hughes's leadership great efforts were made, but Catholics were unable either to modify the existing public schools or to gain state financial support for Catholic schools. However, the conflict did result in the eventual demise of the Public School Society and the establishment of a popularly elected school board. Subsequently, Hughes succeeded in establishing a separate, privately financed school system in the diocese of New York.¹¹

This became the dominant pattern of Catholic adjustment to American public education. Until the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, however, agreement within the Catholic Church was prevented by internal conflicts over the appropriate course of behavior. Conservative Catholics wanted state money for a separate school system that would serve all Catholic children. More liberal Catholics, on the other hand, argued that it would be impossible to gain such support; they recommended a privately financed school system to handle at least part of the Catholic

student body, with the balance attending the public schools. Ultimately, the victory of the Catholic liberals was manifest in Council decrees which called for every church to build a parish school *if possible*, and for Catholic parents to send their children to such schools *unless conditions precluded doing so*. The mandate was for a separate autonomous system to serve only a portion of the Catholic student body.¹²

The impetus to support such a policy came from several social conditions in addition to those already mentioned. One of the most important was the immigration, throughout much of the nineteenth century, of large numbers of non English speaking Catholics. Many of them wanted a separate educational system as a mechanism for maintaining their cultural traditions and language. Such immigrants' views, although never accepted by Church authorities as a valid justification for the educational system, strengthened support for the establishment of a separate school system and provided yet a further wedge between Catholic and non Catholic views of education's role in American society.¹³

Once the separate Catholic educational system was established, its subsequent growth was truly spectacular. By 1900, more than 850,000 pupils were enrolled in Catholic schools. In 1920, the figure had grown to 1.8 million. By 1964, 5.5 million pupils (or approximately 14 percent of the total United States school population) were in Catholic schools.¹⁴ Although this total accounts for less than half of all Catholic school age children in school, it is a remarkable achievement.

IMPLICATIONS

Viewing the historical development of Catholic education from a general systems perspective suggests several things which have a bearing on Catholic education today. American Catholicism's development of a separate educational system was an adaption to environmental pressures associated with (a) the industrial revolution and (b) minority status in a society that was antagonistic to Catholicism. To some extent, the creation of a separate educational system was an attempt to maintain religious autonomy with respect to the larger society. More important, to the degree that such a response rested on negative feedback, e.g., the fear of loss of religious membership, the adaption was primarily defensive, with consequences for the Catholic educational system still evident up to the present time.

A second implication for the American Catholic Church involves the output resulting from this defensive posture. In stressing the religious threat, rather than the secular educational benefits of the Catholic system, much less effort was directed toward modifying the "throughput"

(students) to fit the changing needs of the larger society than might otherwise have been the case Furthermore, having established the educational system partly upon reactionary grounds, Catholics emphasized internal maintenance and boundary concerns unduly For example, an educational system created under such conditions would be likely to stress rigid control over student behavior and would tend to accentuate the differences between a Catholic education and a public education

A third aspect of Catholic educational development is the manner in which the American Catholic Church increased input to meet a need for increased internal differentiation By relying on its own membership for resources to meet new educational needs, the Church reduced the resources available for other religious requirements This provided a basis for potential conflict between education and other areas of the American Catholic system Further, in relying upon internal resources, more restrictions were placed upon the development of Catholic education than would have been necessary if the Catholic Church had been willing to recruit some non Catholics to meet what essentially were secular educational needs

The consequences of these implications will become evident in the following discussion of the structure, inputs, and outputs of the contemporary Catholic educational system

Structure

All social systems are assumed to have a purpose This purpose is defined in terms of either survival or the contribution to the larger system of which the social system is a part We turn, therefore, to the educational philosophy and goals espoused by the leaders of the American Catholic Church

PHILOSOPHY

The philosophical assumptions upon which Catholic education is based reflect a dominant religious theme which is evident in a 1919 pastoral letter from Catholic archbishops and bishops in America Five principles of American Catholic education were stated (1) the child has a right to an education and his elders have the responsibility for providing it, (2) the development of the child's intellectual and moral capacities should be harmonious, (3) moral training should be consistent with religious teaching, (4) religious training should be related to other kinds of instruction, (5) the best training for citizenship is education which brings together intellectual, moral and religious elements¹⁵

This document reflects both the Church's concern for the educational

development of Catholic children and the perceived role of the Catholic school as the stronghold of Christian life. Thus, while it charges parents with the primary responsibility for the general education of the child, it envisions Catholic education as assisting in the child's moral, intellectual, and religious development. Also, while acknowledging the right of the state to establish schools and to insist upon some formal education, it maintains the right of Catholics to establish a separate educational system to preserve Catholicism.¹⁶

The essence of this educational focus was expressed thirty one years later in a formal statement by the Catholic Bishops of America 'The child must be seen whole and entire. He must be seen as a citizen of two worlds.'¹⁷ More recently, in a pronouncement from the Second Vatican Council, Pope Paul noted

No less than other schools does the Catholic school pursue cultural goals and the human formation of youth. But its proper function is to create for the school community a special atmosphere animated by the Gospel spirit of freedom and charity, to help youth grow according to the new creatures they were made through baptism as they develop their own personalities, and finally to order the whole of human culture to the news of salvation so that the knowledge the students gradually acquire of the world, life, and man is illuminated by faith.¹⁸

In effect, as noted by the Policies Commission of the National Catholic Educational Commission (NCEA), the purpose of the system is the development of Catholics who are intelligent, spiritually vigorous, cultured, healthy, vocationally prepared, and socially conscious.¹⁹

VARYING GOALS

While the stated purpose of Catholic education in America has been fairly consistent over time, there have been historical and local variations in the actual operative goals of the system.²⁰ As McCluskey has observed, "the history of Catholic education in America is a story of survival and adaptation."²¹ Forced to contend with a hostile social environment as well as with national and local religious needs, there has often been a large gap between the system's stated purpose and its immediate goals. Thus, in different times and circumstances, the major emphasis of Catholic schools has included religious indoctrination, recruitment to religious vocations, citizenship training, maintenance of ethnic solidarity, and the intellectual development of the child. Early Protestant hostility and limited resources resulted in an emphasis upon religious indoctrination, while the swelling numbers of immigrants forced many schools to concentrate upon citizenship training or ethnic solidarity. Schools catering to the more wealthy Catholics frequently stressed

the classical curriculum²² However, in recent years, pressures upon Catholic education have altered to the point where the actual operative goals of the system are closer to the "wholistic" emphasis on education suggested by the stated purpose of the system²³

Structure is generally defined in terms of relatively enduring patterns of social relations Because Catholic education tries to meet both the needs of students in an industrial society and the Catholic Church's concern for maintaining their religious convictions, Catholic education is similar to the public system in some ways and different in others And, as the structure of the public system has varied with time and circumstance, so has the Catholic system We shall not try to describe or explain such variations but, instead, will focus upon the normal patterns of Catholic education This description will not be accurate for all Catholic schools, nor will it give full recognition to the changes in Catholic education now in process

There are three types of schools within the Catholic educational system private, parish, and diocesan Private schools are owned by various religious orders, such as the Jesuits or Christian Brothers, and constitute a small portion of the total number of Catholic schools (less than 10 percent in 1965)²⁴ Parish (or local schools) and diocesan schools are usually termed "parochial" and are considered quasi public, they constitute the vast bulk of Catholic elementary and secondary schools All schools are nominally under the control of a bishop, who is the spiritual and administrative head of the diocese but elementary schools are more directly controlled by the local parish, while secondary schools are usually tied closely to the diocese²⁵

With some exceptions, the age grade structure and size of Catholic schools differ from the public system Typically, Catholic elementary schools include the eighth grade, and high school begins with the ninth grade There are relatively few junior high schools²⁶ Most Catholic schools are smaller than public schools Using the number of teachers as a measure of size, Catholic elementary schools are roughly two thirds as large as public elementary schools Catholic secondary schools average one half the size of public secondary schools²⁷ These differences are not surprising, given the comparatively limited resources available Since structural differentiation requires large resources, the more conventional age grade structure of Catholic education is readily understood, as is the small size of the schools

AUTHORITY STRUCTURE

A major characteristic of any social system is its authority structure The Catholic educational system is quite decentralized compared to the public school system In fact, several authors have contended that there

is no Catholic educational system.²⁸ There is no national administrative hierarchy directly controlling the various Catholic schools in the United States. Instead, control rests at the diocesan level, in the office of bishop. Together with archdioceses, there were 146 of these dioceses in the continental United States in 1967, a fact that suggests a great deal of potential variation in Catholic schooling. Of course, such variation is less than it might otherwise be because of both state educational requirements and religious constraints associated with the bishop's position in the Catholic religious hierarchy. While the Catholic Church is a bureaucracy, it is not a "legal-rational" bureaucracy in Weber's sense but much more of a traditional bureaucracy, in that custom, tradition, and personal loyalty to the system play a much greater role.²⁹ Accordingly, the Church has considerable power over the bishop in educational matters.

THE BISHOP The control of the educational system by the Church hierarchy rather than by its membership is evident in the authority structure, which is dominated by the clergy. Under the Church's directive to "preach the Faith and safeguard the Faith and morals of his people,"³⁰ the bishop formulates educational policies. He usually consults a Diocesan School Advisory Board (generally made up of pastors) if one has been established, religious community supervisors, or the diocesan educational superintendent.³¹ Further, the bishop is responsible for directing and coordinating the various educational programs within parishes, appointing priests to schools to teach religion, and approving religious materials used in the schools.³²

THE SUPERINTENDENT Because the bishop has other ecclesiastical responsibilities, and some dioceses have a large number of schools (approximately 486 in the archdiocese of Chicago), many of his educational responsibilities are usually assigned to a diocesan superintendent. The existence of such a position and the amount of authority the bishop delegates to it depends upon the size of the diocese and the predilection of the bishop. Typically, however, the duties of the diocesan superintendent include (1) representing the bishop and reporting to him on educational matters, (for example, relations with state authorities, public schools, and various groups), (2) administering the diocesan school system, (including curriculum testing programs, records, evaluations of teachers and schools, and the coordination of various educational efforts in the diocese), (3) interpreting and implementing state school laws, (4) promoting in-service growth through teacher institutes, teacher orientation courses, and so forth, and (5) promoting public relations in terms of both the laity and the larger community.³³

The magnitude and scope of these responsibilities vary from one dio-

cense to another and in some cases require the use of assistants. While the superintendent is a clergyman who may have had some specialized training in education, his authority is derived from the bishop. This control is particularly important because the bishop appoints the pastors of various parishes and is frequently in contact with them on a variety of church matters, thereby establishing communication links outside of the educational system. Further, the superintendent has no control over the hiring of teachers (lay or religious) by various schools, and consequently his authority over school personnel tends to be reduced. Thus, the superintendent's position is a difficult one³⁴ although he usually has major responsibilities he may have little authority.

THE PRINCIPAL. If the Catholic educational system were a rational bureaucracy in the modern sense, it is doubtful that it would have operated as successfully as it has. The supposition is nowhere more evident than in the authority structure at the principal's level. The principal is usually a member of a religious order who, in one way or another, is responsible to three different authority figures: (1) the head of the religious community of which he or she is a member, (2) the diocesan superintendent representing the bishop, and (3) the local pastor. To appreciate the complexity of this relationship, as well as the manner in which the principal relates to the teachers in the school, it is necessary to consider the principal's role in greater detail.

At the elementary level, and frequently at the secondary level, the principal is a nun. As such, she is obligated by her vows to the directives of her religious community. The community is under the direction of a Mother Superior.

The Principal is bound to her superior first as a religious subject, and only second as a professional person. The nun's vow of obedience predisposes her to say "yes" to the superior under practically all circumstances.³⁵

Although the arrangements vary with differing religious orders and dioceses, the Mother Superior generally handles such things as religious teaching appointments to a particular school, teaching qualifications, and salary negotiations. In addition, she works closely with the various principals within her religious community to coordinate the requirements of the order with those of the various dioceses served.³⁶

Just as the principal's obligations to her religious order are binding so also are her responsibilities to the diocesan superintendent, who is the bishop's representative. It is the principal's obligation to carry out diocesan policies in her school as well as to give the superintendent information on school activities. To do so requires constant attention to directives and guidelines put out by the superintendent's office. Much of this information must be passed on to the teachers.³⁷

Finally, and in some respects most important, there is the authority of the pastor over the principal. Delegated by the bishop to protect the "faith and morals of the children," the pastor is considered to be the head of the school.³⁸ Subordinate to the bishop, he is still superior to the principal. Generally, the pastor's responsibilities include maintaining the academic quality of the school, overseeing the compliance of the school with state and diocesan requirements, working with the principal in selecting teachers, equipping and maintaining the school, anticipating problems of growth, and assuring adequate financing. Further, he has a responsibility for the religious instruction of the children in his parish school, this obligation frequently entails teaching and the direction of various religious activities.³⁹ The principal is expected to work under the pastor's direction, implementing the pastor's wishes regarding the school, keeping him informed of the school's problems and progress, and using the resources provided for her by the pastor.⁴⁰

It is apparent that the principal's position involves overlapping authority. Although it should be reiterated that Catholic schools may vary tremendously from the above description, by age grade level, diocese, and the idiosyncrasies of the individuals involved, the underlying theme of organizational conflict is essentially correct. However, such conflict is minimized by commitment to the goals of the Catholic educational system and by loyalty to the traditional bureaucratic structure of the church. In other words, customs of submission to religious authority and tradition reduce the friction inherent in the situation.

THE TEACHER The relationship between the principal and the teaching staff in most Catholic schools is not much different from that in public elementary and secondary schools. While little research has been reported on the subject, it is reasonable to assume that teachers' membership in the same religious order as that of the principal enhances the principal's authority over them. Given the greater emphasis upon traditional bureaucratic relationships within the church, a more authoritarian structure may be expected.⁴¹ However, while Catholic teachers have not had a great deal of autonomy in the past, the rapidly rising educational standards of religious communities from which many teachers are drawn and the increasing numbers of lay teachers in Catholic schools have modified the formerly rigid authoritarian relationships between teachers and principals.⁴²

THE ABSENCE OF LAY AUTHORITY Conspicuous in its absence from this discussion is any reference to nonreligious or "lay" authority in the Catholic educational system. Elected school boards made up of parishioners have only recently begun to function in some Catholic schools, and their impact is, as yet, uncertain.⁴³ Other possible lay influences, such as those

represented by the Parent-Teacher Association, have not generally been present in Catholic education. Local Home and School Societies, supposedly the equivalent of the PTA, have played little more than a social role in the authority structure of the school. Nor have lay teachers employed by Catholic schools been particularly militant in demanding a larger voice in the policies or procedures of Catholic education.⁴⁴ Thus, until very recently, control by the religious authority structure in Catholic education has been virtually total.

CONSEQUENCES

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES Related to the authority structure of Catholic education is the allocation of time to various activities within the school system. While the evidence is far from conclusive, research suggests that, compared with public school principals, Catholic school principals are heavily overworked. For example, Catholic principals are likely to teach one or more classes, thereby reducing their time available for supervision and administrative work. Further, Catholic schools generally suffer from a shortage of clerical and custodial help, resulting in even more pressure upon the principal.⁴⁵ Combined, these pressures at the elementary level result in an average work week of fifty hours.⁴⁶ Although little data is available it appears that teachers in many Catholic elementary schools spend a disproportionate amount of time in nonprofessional tasks, such as church related activities, clerical work, monitoring playgrounds, and the like.⁴⁷ Partly, of course, this imbalance is due to the high student/teacher ratio.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the teachers' own expectations regarding their performance appears to be higher than in public schools. Just how prevalent this pattern is at the elementary level, or how accurately it reflects the allocation of time in the secondary schools, is unknown. In general, the amount of time and energy religious and lay teachers spend on their jobs is greater than that of their public school counterparts.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SYSTEM Given the authoritarian nature of the system, the heavy demands of the role, and the low pay teachers receive, we might expect dissatisfaction with the system, low morale, and high turnover. However, with the possible exception of some lay teachers, there is little evidence to suggest that this is the case. Quite the contrary, most of the evidence suggests a strong positive attitude toward the system.⁴⁹ One explanation for this attitude is that within a traditional bureaucratic institution such as the Catholic Church, services like education attract people who are more strongly committed to the goals of the system than they are to their own material self interests. Thus,

obedience to authority is based upon the norms and standards of Catholicism rather than upon organizational coercion or remuneration. As a result, Catholic teachers minimize the importance of personally unattractive conditions of work.⁵⁰

In some respects, the most important aspect of any educational system is the relationship between students and teachers. There seems little doubt that parents of children who attend Catholic schools view the stronger discipline as desirable.⁵¹ At the same time, the students themselves do not see the system as particularly authoritarian.⁵² Compared with public education, the student/teacher relationship in Catholic education is more rigid, disciplined, and perhaps more authoritarian.⁵³ In part this strictness may be explained by emphasis on the classical curriculum in Catholic schools, an emphasis that has continued down to the present time. Partly, also, it reflects philosophical assumptions regarding the "wholistic" role of education in the child's development. While not questioning parental authority, the Catholic system has assumed the "parental substitute" approach toward its pupils to an extent that few public schools can match. Furthermore, the Catholic educational system has been relatively unaffected by progressive education, which had considerable influence upon student/teacher relationships in the public system.⁵⁴

To summarize, Catholic education may be described in terms of the dual role it is intended to serve. Created partly in reaction to the needs of a rapidly industrializing society and partly in response to unfavorable religious conditions, the Catholic school has reflected a religious dominance throughout its history. While committed to the broad educational needs (including religious needs) of Catholic children, in practice the system is more attuned to the goals of the Church. On the other hand, because of the traditional authoritarian nature of Catholicism, the system has been particularly effective in overcoming inconsistencies resulting from its dual role and in sustaining the commitment of its members to the system's stated purpose. This result has been achieved in spite of liabilities that might have destroyed a more rationally structured system.

Inputs

Inputs into Catholic schools include personnel, information, and materials. To some degree, of course, all three depend upon money available to the system. Of equal importance, however, are the social characteristics and origins of inputs, which may have little to do with their monetary costs as such, particularly in an educational structure like that described in the preceding paragraphs, where stable relationships are

based less upon mutual self interests and more upon a commitment to the norms and standards of Catholicism and the religious bureaucracy of which the educational system is a part. Therefore, money inputs will be considered but more attention will be directed to the noneconomic, social attributes.

MONEY

The most obvious input into any formal social system is money. In the Catholic educational system, the various types of schools have somewhat different sources of money. Private schools rely heavily upon student tuition. Parochial schools, on the other hand, may rely upon a combination of tuition, parish funds, and diocesan funds. The primary source of funds for these schools depends upon several things, including the grade level, the wealth of the parishioners who send their children to a particular school, and the relative wealth of the diocese within which the school is located. Although a local parish normally provides most of the support for the Catholic school within it, particularly at the elementary level, a school in a poor neighborhood can receive considerable assistance from the diocese. On the other hand, tuition is most likely to be found in schools in wealthier neighborhoods. Overall, such variation in monetary input may cause some administrative problems, but it also gives the bishop flexibility, allowing him to shift his monetary resources to meet the needs of the various schools within his diocese.

There is no accurate information available on the amount of money spent per pupil although there is reason to suspect that the direct per pupil expenditure is considerably less than in the public schools.⁵⁵ One problem in trying to compare the per pupil cost of Catholic and public education is that, in the Catholic system, much of the cost is hidden in other expenses. For example, the *direct* cost to the parish of teachers from religious communities (nuns) is very low, compared to that of lay teachers but *indirect* costs of convent building, maintenance, and repair may more than offset the advantages gained in salary savings.⁵⁶ Similarly, there are various activities carried on by the parish for educational purposes which are not normally charged to the school; if the cost of these activities were included in the per pupil cost computations, the averages would increase appreciably. For this reason, and also because there has been little attempt to develop a uniform cost accounting arrangement within the Catholic educational system,⁵⁷ monetary comparisons are meaningless.

Although comparisons are meaningless and accurate per pupil expenditures are not generally available, there is little doubt that the monetary inputs of Catholic education are rising dramatically. According to the

annual study of the National Catholic Educational Association, the average budget for elementary schools in 1970-1971 anticipated a 17.5 percent increase in costs over 1969-1970, with a 30 percent increase foreseen in 1971-1972. Further, secondary school tuition rates under parish and diocesan control have been increasing in recent years at the annual rate of approximately 22 percent, while private high school tuition rates have been increasing at the annual rate of 12 to 14 percent.⁵⁸ In 1970-1971 the average tuition charges in parish and diocesan high schools was \$234 per pupil, while in private high schools it was \$436 per pupil.⁵⁹

PERSONNEL

TEACHERS Personnel inputs depend partly upon funds available. Traditionally, teachers for Catholic schools have been drawn from religious orders. However, with the tremendous growth in student attendance and a much slower growth in the numbers of Catholics entering religious orders, the proportion of lay teachers has rapidly increased.⁶⁰ Since 1940 the proportion of lay teachers has increased more than 500 percent. In 1971 for the first time the number of lay teachers outnumbered the teachers from religious orders, and in 1973 lay teachers constituted 56.6 percent of the faculty.⁶¹ This rapid transition has led to three types of problems educational, organizational, and financial. Although interrelated, they are worthy of separate consideration.

As in the public schools, the input of teachers into Catholic elementary schools is almost exclusively women, of whom approximately two-thirds are sisters from religious communities.⁶² However, the difference between lay and religious teachers extends beyond membership in a religious order. For example, in 1965 the median tenure of teaching sisters in elementary schools was from ten to fourteen years, but only three or four years for lay teachers. This difference in experience was reflected in age and training as well. Twenty two percent of the religious group were fifty five years of age or older, more than half held at least a bachelor's degree. In contrast, only 14 percent of the lay teachers were fifty-five years of age or older and only 32 percent had at least a bachelor's degree. At the secondary level these differences between religious and lay groups were magnified. The median experience for sisters at the secondary level was twenty to twenty nine years, although only 27 percent of them were fifty-five years of age or older. In both groups the amount of formal training was high (95 percent of the sisters with at least a bachelor's degree and 85 percent of the lay teachers).⁶³

These figures indicate that the introduction of larger numbers of lay teachers into the Catholic system lowered teacher qualifications, insofar as

experience, advanced training, and age indicate a more qualified teaching force. Although the upgrading of the educational qualifications of most religious communities has occurred only recently,⁶⁴ the fact remains that within many religious communities the amount of formal training received increases up to the age of sixty five. On the other hand, lay teachers in Catholic schools usually do not continue their education after they begin teaching. Thus the recent influx of many lay teachers may initially have lowered the quality of instruction.

Related to these differences are problems of assimilating large numbers of lay teachers into the Catholic system. Despite their probably strong commitment to Catholicism, lay teachers are traditionally considered outsiders.⁶⁵ The scanty evidence available suggests that lay teachers in some Catholic schools have not been treated as coequals with teachers from religious communities.⁶⁶ Their disparities in educational background would likely reinforce such tendencies.

A third problem associated with the rapid increase of lay teachers in Catholic schools is financial. Aside from salary schedules, which tend to be lower than those of teachers in the public system, many Catholic schools have not been able to provide fringe benefits comparable to those offered in the public system.⁶⁷ The absence of such benefits, combined with the problems noted above and the lack of opportunities for promotion into administrative work, apparently encourages a transitory attitude on the part of many lay teachers who might otherwise consider a career in the Catholic system.⁶⁸

STUDENTS Students are the other major personnel input into the Catholic educational system.⁶⁹ Students attending Catholic schools are not representative of all students from Catholic background in the United States, either in ethnic or social class origins. Catholics of French, Irish, German, and Polish descent are more likely to send their children to Catholic schools than Catholics of Italian or Spanish origin.⁷⁰ Part of this variation may be attributed to the social class standing of these different ethnic groups, as reflected in their ability to pay for Catholic schooling. This interpretation is supported by several studies which reveal a positive correlation between social class background and attendance at Catholic schools.⁷¹

In addition to social-class differences between Catholics who do and do not attend Catholic schools there are also differences in religion and in performance on intelligence tests. Children who attend Catholic schools are more likely to come from families in which there is a traditionally orthodox approach to Catholicism and in which both parents are Catholic and have themselves attended Catholic schools.⁷² In terms

of intelligence, students who attend Catholic schools usually score higher on IQ tests than do students in the general population, particularly at the secondary level⁷³

These characteristics suggest a student input into Catholic education that is not typical of the Catholic population or of American students generally. The reasons for this are complex, but several factors apparently enter the selection process. Some ethnic groups have stronger traditions regarding religious education than do others. The extra cost to parents of parochial schooling for their children undoubtedly contributes to the disproportionate middle-class enrollment in Catholic schools.⁷⁴ Further, many Catholic schools use tests to screen applicants for admittance, particularly at the secondary level, the association between social class and performance on IQ tests is well known. Finally, it is reasonable to assume that those Catholic families who are most economically prosperous and most religiously orthodox would also be the families most likely to follow the Church's directives about providing a Catholic education for their children.

INFORMATION Like personnel inputs, information inputs are critical in determining the nature of any social system. One of the most important information inputs in Catholic education involves the nature of the curriculum. The curriculum is similar to that found in public schools. Constrained by state law and by accreditation requirements, the Catholic educational program parallels the public system in basic course work. Differences between the systems, particularly at the secondary level are more a result of limited financial resources than of deliberate action by Catholic educators. Traditionally, Catholic education has not tried to duplicate the comprehensive nature of public education and, accordingly, has focused upon the conventional subjects of an earlier era.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Catholic system has been largely unresponsive to the varying tides of change that, in public schools, have resulted in curriculum modifications.⁷⁶ This somewhat narrow educational input has, until recently, permitted Catholic schools to maintain relative equality with the public schools. However, the rising cost of materials (libraries, laboratories, and audio-visual aids) associated with an academic or college preparatory program has left many Catholic schools unable to match the public system. It is in these respects that the Catholic system differs most significantly from its public counterpart as far as the educational input of information is concerned.

The input of religious information into the Catholic educational system is, of course, the reason for the schools' existence. Such input can be apprised on two levels on the formal instructional level and on the

past, more recent studies of Catholic school graduates have yielded contradictory results. For example, Greeley and Rossi report that Catholics attending Catholic schools tend to have the same educational and occupational achievement in later life as Protestants who attended public schools, both groups are higher in achievement than Catholics attending public schools.⁹⁰ Other recent research by Morrison and Hodgkins reveals that the proportion of high school graduates going on to higher education was appreciably greater in Catholic high schools than in public high schools.⁹¹ In terms of academic achievement in science and engineering, Warkow and Greeley's study points to an approximate equality for graduates of both Catholic and public high schools.⁹²

SERVICES

Research upon religious outputs is much more limited in spite of its importance to the Catholic system. The research that is available suggests that Catholic education leads to greater participation in church activities, (for example, sacramental practices such as more frequent communions and use of the confessional⁹³) This effect appears to be cumulative—the more Catholic education received, the more closely the person's behavior approximates that encouraged by the Church.⁹⁴

The above data suggest that the "service output" of Catholic schools has consistently reflected the religious needs of the Church. The historical basis for Catholic education's establishment and its authoritarian structure resulted in an educational experience which placed much more emphasis upon religious learning than upon academic or intellectual growth. With the ultimate acceptance and assimilation of the vast majority of Catholics into the mainstream of American society, there was a need for a more balanced educational system within the Catholic Church. The Church's adjustment to that need is reflected in the current research on the occupational and educational success of Catholic school graduates.

This interpretation should be received with caution, however. The success of the Catholic schools is not solely the result of the Catholic educational system. As previously noted, Catholic schools have been selective in their admittance of students. And the fact that only slightly more than one-third of school age Catholic youths are actually in Catholic schools should be remembered. While parents of students in Catholic schools place great emphasis upon the religious aspects of a Catholic education, there is little question that their predominantly middle-class background has also led them to a concern for the more secular rewards associated with a good education, independent of their church membership. Therefore, it is not clear how much of the Catholic schools "suc-

cess" is due to the educational system rather than to the social characteristics of the families who use it. Although the Catholic educational system does influence its students, the magnitude of that influence is unclear because other factors such as social class, community of origin, and intelligence are also operating.⁹⁵

In summary, the informational and service outputs of Catholic education indicate that Catholic schools are successful. The intellectual and religious development of Catholic students is enhanced by exposure to the Catholic educational system. However, this success is partly due to the selection of students (either by the system or through choice of the parents) who are most likely to benefit from the type of education offered. This supports the suggestion made earlier, that Catholic schools are serving a socioreligious elite of Catholics. The ramifications of this, as well as other characteristics of the educational system, will be considered in the rest of this chapter.

Problems of Catholic Education Today

A noted Catholic sociologist observed that "Catholic schools are in opposition to the major trend in modern society."⁹⁶ The trend referred to is the specialization of social organizations, resulting from the increasing complexities of modern industrial life. The "opposition" is the Catholic schools' effort to integrate both religious and educational functions into a single system. Yet, in spite of apparent opposition to a major trend, the Catholic educational system has succeeded in integrating religious and educational functions. This success, if indeed it is that, has not been achieved without considerable modification of its inputs, structure, and outputs. In an earlier era, both the Church and its educational system were identified with the immigrant and the poor, the emphasis was more upon religious indoctrination and morality, at the expense of intellectual and cultural development.⁹⁷ To achieve the integrated balance of today has required both an upgrading of the system and a change in the nature of student inputs. The conditions leading to this change in the Catholic schools, and its implications for the current and future state of the system, provide a focus for examining its contemporary problems.

LEVELS FOR RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

There are many facets to any social phenomena. One of the more significant is that the American Catholic school has traditionally tried to avoid the influence of environmental pressures, except for those coming from the Church. Given the socioreligious environment in which it was

established, a defensive posture was understandable⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the Catholic school was initially closed to many influences which could have impinged upon it While it is true that the Catholic school played a significant early role in "Americanizing" the children of many Catholic immigrants, this action was probably motivated more out of concern for their faith than in response to the assimilation needs of the larger society⁹⁹ Accordingly, a great deal of energy was expended in maintaining the religious status quo in the Catholic school and guarding against secular intrusions, at the expense of educational development and adaptation to the changing needs of the larger society

Such an emphasis, never totally successful, could be sustained only as long as it met the needs of its student input and was in keeping with the socioreligious realities of the larger American society After a while, the assimilation of the Catholic population into the cultural mainstream and the resultant prosperity of Catholics, along with the rising importance of education in the society as a whole, inevitably led to criticism about the educational inadequacies of the Catholic school¹⁰⁰ At the same time, the reduction of traditional religious antagonisms in American society diminished the need for the defensive posture originally held Changes in both the inputs and the environment led to pressures for reallocating more energy to the needs of the student and the larger society

THE URBAN FINANCIAL CRISIS

Another problem of Catholic education resulting from changes in the larger society has to do with the current urban crisis in Catholic education Historically, the Catholic educational system grew and prospered during the period when most Catholics were to be found in the central city Today, with the movement to the suburbs of large numbers of Catholics, the basis for support of existing Catholic schools in the central city has been eroded Such erosion has led to the closing of urban Catholic schools in many instances and to the subsidy of other urban schools by a reallocation of funds within various dioceses¹⁰¹ The matter is further complicated by the mushrooming costs of education generally, a situation which brings pressure to bear on Catholic administrators to hold down expenses in the diocese at the same time as the Catholic Church is being pressed to provide educational aid for those ghetto minorities (both Catholic and non-Catholic) in need of it

CONCERN FOR ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

In a sense, compounding the urban crisis for the Catholic educator has been the shift of Catholic education to an increasing emphasis upon a

well rounded academic program at the secondary level, consistent with the growing importance of education in modern middle class American society Extracurricular activities such as musical programs, athletic teams, and social events as well as vocational and educational guidance programs, have grown appreciably in the last twenty years,¹⁰² though they are still not as extensive as those in the public system At the same time, increasing concern with academic innovations and standards reflects a greater awareness of the role of the Catholic school as a vehicle for educational and occupational mobility in today's society¹⁰³

With the growing academic emphasis of secondary schools has come a reconsideration of the emphasis traditionally placed upon Catholic elementary education¹⁰⁴ While various reasons have been suggested for what appears to be the beginning of a major shift in educational philosophy, it may be partially explained by a decrease in the importance of religion in Catholic education Traditionally, one of the contradictions of the Catholic system was its insistence upon the parents' *primary* responsibility for religious instruction, at the same time that it placed the locus of that instruction within the Catholic school¹⁰⁵ By redirecting resources toward a more balanced and academic educational program at the secondary level giving the secular needs of students greater consideration, a reduction in the importance of early religious indoctrination at the elementary level would be anticipated It is difficult to tell how significant this development is, although the recent drop in numbers of Catholic elementary pupils and schools suggests its long run effect may be important¹⁰⁶

CHALLENGE TO CHURCH AUTHORITY

Another important change, accompanying the shift of Catholic education to a more academic orientation, is associated with the authority structure Upgrading the qualifications of the teaching staff has made a conflict between professional and bureaucratic norms virtually inevitable We can expect a movement away from the authoritarian religious system to a more flexible structure based upon educational expertise rather than religious commitment Resistance to such a movement is rising within the school as well as in the Church This resistance is already evident in some Catholic literature and is usually couched in a fashion which suggests that the target of the attack is the religious role of Catholic education rather than merely the authority system At the same time however, the success of religious communities in raising their educational standards and the increasing numbers of lay teachers in Catholic schools suggest the eventual demise of the traditional authority structure

The Future of Catholic Schools

ELITE PUPILS

If present trends in pupil attendance continue the actual proportion of Catholic youth attending Catholic schools will decline appreciably in the coming years. Particularly significant in this decline is the increasing homogeneity of the student body. Rising educational costs and emphasis upon academic preparation leave little doubt that, without radical changes within the Church, Catholic education will be increasingly limited to wealthy and academically gifted Catholic youth. Whether Catholic educators desire this is debatable.¹⁰⁷

MORE LAY TEACHERS

Although the increasing number of lay teachers in Catholic education was originally due to inadequate numbers of religious teachers, there is no evidence to suggest that the presence of many of these teachers in Catholic education will be temporary. Their effects upon the educational system have not yet been realized. To some extent, their entry into the system provides the basis for specialization of teacher roles. The dual purpose of Catholic schools could be used as the basis for a division of labor, in which religious teachers were responsible for teaching Church history, beliefs, and Catholic morality, while lay teachers emphasized more secular subject matter. On the other hand, the rising educational qualifications of teachers in religious communities suggest that such a development is unlikely. More realistically, as the academic emphasis assumes increasing significance for both teachers and the system, the relatively unique role of the religious communities in education will be deemphasized with a concomitant reduction in the numbers and importance of religious teachers in Catholic schools. There is some evidence that such a trend is already developing in that in the 1971-1972 school year the total number of teachers in the Catholic system dropped by 8,378 from the preceding year. Of the number, all but 247 were from religious communities. And in the 1972-1973 school year the total number of teachers in the Catholic system dropped 5,252, with 4,796 being from religious communities.¹⁰⁸ Of course, other considerations having to do with the falling numbers of religious vocations and financial constraints are important as well.

INCREASED FEDERAL AID

The increasing use of lay teachers, as well as other factors associated with the emergence of an academic orientation, has accentuated the importance of monetary inputs into Catholic education. The original deci-

sion to establish a separate school system was not based upon economic rationality but rather upon religious conviction. Consequently, pressures for government financial assistance have always existed, and their intensity has increased in recent years, particularly with the growing problems of Catholic education in the central city. Catholic schools' failure to receive federal money has traditionally been associated with the doctrine of separation of church and state. As set forth in the First Amendment (1791), "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This restriction was extended to the various states by the Fourteenth Amendment (1868). In effect, to offer financial aid to Catholic or other religious schools was interpreted as endorsing those religions and giving them unfair advantages over other religious groups.

If the matter were really so straightforward, the question of financial aid to Catholic schools would have been resolved long ago. The presence of nondenominational Protestant teaching in the public schools, however, has led many Catholics to question whether church and state have really been kept separate. Furthermore, indirect forms of financial aid have been made available to the Catholic educational system. At the local level, released time for religious instruction and the use of various public facilities has not been uncommon. In addition, several states have passed laws providing services to children who attend Catholic schools, thereby indirectly assisting the Catholic educational system. So, also, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 offers aid to students attending nonpublic schools.¹⁰⁹ In all instances, however, such assistance is justified in terms of the rights of the individual rather than the school system, thereby formally maintaining the separation of church and state. Such factors have complicated the question of state aid to Catholic schools by blurring both the meaning of the doctrine (which was never explicit) and the criteria for its application to the educational system.

A series of court cases have tried to clarify the Constitution's intent in this matter.¹¹⁰ In earlier times, the courts had tacitly supported the existing arrangement of public education, but now their thinking has shifted to a more secular view of public education.¹¹¹ From this perspective, activities such as Bible reading in schools, prayers, and displays of religious materials have been interpreted as violating the doctrine of separation of church and state. Carried to its logical conclusion, this most recent court interpretation of the separation doctrine could lead to the complete removal of religion, other than as one of many subjects offered, from the public schools. At least such is the argument of its opponents. Whether or not this removal could in fact occur, may be academic, however, for a great deal of resistance to these rulings has been expressed.

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The implications of these developments in church-state relations for the Catholic educational system are mixed. On the one hand, the power of organized religion in formal education of any kind, relative to the power of the political system, is being challenged by court rulings. The Catholic Church has never totally accepted the primacy of the state in educational matters.¹¹⁷ Therefore, although not directed at the Catholic educational system, the development runs contrary to much Catholic thinking. At the same time, the court has strengthened popular support for the Catholic argument for financial aid to Catholic schools by driving many religiously oriented Protestants to challenge the court rulings, on grounds that these rulings will result in the removal of "God" from the schools. Thus, the court has set the stage for the creation of a state supported church school.¹¹⁸ At the very least, it would seem that conditions now exist which might force the government to increase its financial support for religious educational institutions.¹¹⁹

Strengthening this possibility is the current economic crisis of Catholic education. In the six year period between 1965 and 1971, the number of Catholic schools shrank by 2,563 while enrollment dropped by approximately one and one half million students.¹²⁰ An immediate consequence of this reduction is that more students are attending public schools, thereby increasing the financial burden upon taxpayers. Since this burden is already considered excessive by many taxpayers, we may anticipate greater pressures upon state and federal governments to provide direct aid to the Catholic school system. This development, combined with the Protestant reaction to the previously mentioned court rulings and Catholic pressures for direct financial aid to the Catholic schools, increases the probability that state and federal aid will be provided.

SECULARIZATION

These developments, although focused upon monetary inputs, can be related to other changes in Catholic education. Secularization is particularly important. Secularization is 'the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols'.¹²¹ Its importance for Catholic schools is both historical and contemporary. Historically the encroachment of the state upon the educational process was seen by Catholics as a twofold threat: that of Protestantism and that of secular forces in the society. The original strength of Protestantism in dictating much of the information input into the public system overshadowed early Catholic concern about secular intrusion into what had been under the traditional purview of religious institutions.¹²² With industrialization and its increasing educational demands, the influence of Protestant Christianity in the public school system declined. Thus, what began as basically a structural separation of edu-

cation from religion has become, in some respects, an ideological and cultural separation as well.¹¹⁸

In the past this separation had little direct impact upon the Catholic system because it had been rather impervious to non Catholic influences and because of its self-proclaimed religious role. Indirectly, however, many of the recent changes in the Catholic educational system are due to pressures from its clientele and the state to meet the secular educational requirements of the larger society. This, in turn, has led to a reduction in the religiosity of Catholic education.¹¹⁹ New environmental pressures, stemming from cultural changes in attitudes and values, and reflected in a different kind of student, have led to demands for academic quality. Such demands, while not in conflict with religious concerns, reduce the amount of energy available for religious activity in the school. Further, since popular support of the Catholic system is dependent upon parents who themselves have assimilated secular values, negative Catholic reaction to reductions in religious emphasis has been minimal.¹²⁰

The effect of these changes — in the role of the Protestant religion in public schools and in the importance of religion in the Catholic schools — has been a convergence of the two educational systems toward a secular, middle-class role. In spite of Protestant reaction to judicial rulings, the immediate significance of this convergence is far greater for Catholic schools than for public schools. Although the religious impact of the Catholic system upon its students remains important, achievement of both religious indoctrination and high academic performance has led to more stringent student admission standards and an uplifting of the academic milieu. To achieve these ends has required a much greater investment in education for the Church than has been true in the past and may well have contributed to the current economic crises facing Catholic schools.

In the final analysis, a great deal of research remains to be done on the Catholic educational system before we can appreciate its role in American education. In this chapter we have tried to arrange the scant empirical information on Catholic education within a conceptual framework. By doing so, we have attempted to interpret that knowledge in the larger sociohistorical context of American society. Until further evidence is available on the subject, however, the interpretation can only be considered as suggestive.

Notes

¹ U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics 1973*, table 42, p. 40.

² The term "general systems" incorporates a variety of conceptual frame-

works and is, therefore, eclectic in nature. Much of the thinking associated with the specific framework discussed here, is drawn from a variety of sources. They include Walter Buckley, *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, 1967, Walter Buckley, editor, *Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientist*, Chicago Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, New York John Wiley and Sons, 1966, Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, revised edition, New York The Free Press, 1954, Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, New York The Free Press, 1951, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, *Robots, Men and Minds*, New York George Braziller, 1967.

- 3 These definitions and subsequent system concepts introduced are taken from Robert E. Herriott and Benjamin J. Hodgkins, *Sociocultural Context and the American School An Open-Systems Analysis of Educational Opportunity*, Washington, D.C. U.S. Office of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969, chapter three.
- 4 Several excellent accounts of the history of Catholic education in the United States have been written. See, for example, J. A. Burns and Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, *History of Catholic Education in the United States*, New York Benziger Bros., 1937, Gerard S. Sloyan, "Roman Catholic Religious Education," in Marvin T. Taylor, editor, *Religious Education A Comprehensive Survey*, Nashville, Tennessee Abingdon Press, 1960, Neil G. McCluskey, editor, *Catholic Education in America A Documentary History*, New York Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964.
- 5 Aubert J. Clark, "Catholic Education in Transition," *The Catholic Educational Review* 64 (1966), 292.
- 6 McCluskey, pp. 2-3.
- 7 Ibid., p. 3, Clark, p. 291.
- 8 McCluskey, pp. 4-7.
- 9 Ibid., pp. 51-52, Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*, Chicago Quadrangle Books, 1964, p. 37. Originally published by The Macmillan Co., 1938.
- 10 Billington, pp. 143-158. For an excellent account of this important dispute see Vincent P. Lannie, *Public Money and Parochial Education Bishop Hughes, Governor Seaward and the New York School Controversy*, Cleveland Case Western Reserve Press, 1968.
- 11 Lannie.
- 12 See McCluskey, p. 94. Many of the issues debated at that time are reminiscent of contemporary debates over state aid to Catholic education. The victory of the Catholic liberals, in retrospect, was probably instrumental in establishing a viable Catholic system. Had the conservatives prevailed, given the poverty of most Catholics in the nineteenth century, it is doubtful that the Catholic school system would have succeeded. See, Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*, Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1958.
- 13 Clark, pp. 292-293. While declining in importance, some "national"

- parishes and schools are still found in urban ghetto areas. The significance of this type of school to the educational system may vary by geographical regions, as suggested by the research of Peter H. Rossi and Alice S. Rossi, "Some Effects of Parochial Education in America," *Dædalus* 90 (Spring 1961), 300-328.
- 14 Between 1940 and 1960 enrollment in Catholic elementary and secondary schools increased by 219 percent Clark, p. 296, and McCluskey, p. 25.
 - 15 McCluskey, *Ibid.*, pp. 186-188.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 189-192.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, p. 194.
 - 18 Paul, Bishop, "Declaration on Catholic Education," *The Catholic Educational Review* 64 (1966), 152-153.
 - 19 James Michael Lee, "Catholic Education in the United States," in James Michael Lee, editor, *Catholic Education in the Western World*, South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967, pp. 255-311.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, Clark, p. 289.
 - 21 McCluskey, p. 1.
 - 22 For an interesting discussion of Catholic education in this context, as well as generally, see William W. Brickman, *Educational Systems in the United States*, New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1964, chapters I, II, IV, and VIII. Such variation in the operative goals, as opposed to the systems institutional role, nicely illustrates the differential impact of environmental forces upon a social system that has been noted for its stability over time.
 - 23 This point will be more thoroughly discussed under the topic of "outputs" to follow.
 - 24 Brickman, p. 66.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
 - 26 Lee, Herriott and Hodgkins appendix C.
 - 27 Herriott and Hodgkins, p. 302.
 - 28 Clark, p. 289. Robert B. Nordberg, "Catholic Education, 1966: An Overview," *The Catholic Educational Review* 64 (1966), 505-516.
 - 29 The distinction between a 'legal rational' bureaucracy and a 'traditional' bureaucracy rests primarily upon the basis for authority legitimization in Weber's theory. By accepting the sanctity of traditions, including those traditions governing authority, as the primary basis for legitimacy, the need for formalized offices defined in rational terms is minimized. For a more complete discussion of Weber's theory see, Julian Freund, *The Sociology of Max Weber*, New York: Vintage Books, 1969, pp. 229-234, and Raymond Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, vol. 2, New York: Basic Books, 1967, pp. 177-252.
 - 30 Sister M. Jerome Corcoran, *The Catholic Elementary School Principal*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1961, p. 29. The discussion of the authority system is taken primarily from Corcoran's work. Although some differences are found at the secondary level, the basic pattern of authority is similar.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

- 32 Ibid., p. 29
- 33 Ibid., pp. 31-33
- 34 Ibid., p. 33, Nordberg, p. 513
- 35 Corcoran, p. 44
- 36 Ibid., pp. 35-36
- 37 Ibid., pp. 42-43
- 38 Ibid., p. 38
- 39 Ibid., pp. 40-41
- 40 Ibid., p. 43
- 41 The "vows" of the religious community members undoubtedly contribute to the authoritarian nature of the system. Beyond this, however, the moral commitment to a traditional order by religious community teachers, as well as marginal status of lay teachers, provides the principals of Catholic schools with a leverage over teachers rarely enjoyed by principals in the public system.
- 42 As the educational role of Catholic education becomes more academic, emphasis upon higher educational standards for teachers should lead to a greater emphasis upon legal rational criteria associated with legitimate authority, thereby forcing at least some modification of the traditional authority pattern of the system.
- 43 According to one source, in 1969 approximately 40 percent of the parishes with schools had boards of education. See Olin J. Murdick, "Catholic Boards of Education Structure and Process," *National Catholic Education Association Bulletin* (August 1969), 20-24. Some of the uncertainty surrounding the entrance of lay people into the Catholic system has been pointed out by Murdick and Clark. See, Olin J. Murdick, "The Parish School Board," *America* 114 (Spring 1966), 132-136, and Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-308.
- 44 Lee
- 45 Lee, Corcoran
- 46 Corcoran, p. 83
- 47 Ibid., pp. 154-156
- 48 Lee
- 49 Reginald A. Neuwein, editor, *Catholic Schools in Action: The Notre Dame Study of Elementary and Secondary Schools in the United States*, South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966; George Elford, "Alternatives in Catholic Education: Attitudes as a Basis for Planning," *National Catholic Educational Association Bulletin* (February 1969), 3-12.
- 50 For an extended discussion of authority and compliance systems in formal organizations see Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, New York: Free Press, 1964.
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117. The way some Catholic educators see this threat is demonstrated by the words of a prominent Canadian Catholic educator "The fight over religious teaching in the schools and prayers in the classrooms is a very small thing in the life of the average individual, but, in itself, this is an indication of the power of secular humanism to destroy the idea that there is anything higher and greater than humanity itself" (p 29) John T McLlhone, "How Necessary is the Catholic School in Contemporary Society?" *The Catholic School Journal*, 67 (March 1967), 27-32
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THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

WILLIAM NOLAN DAVID W. SWIFT

Characteristics

The community college is a diverse, rapidly growing institution, yet despite its popularity, it has serious problems. It must perform several tasks that it does not like. To make matters worse, it is not allowed to do other things that it would really prefer doing. Being a relative newcomer on the educational scene, it had to accept leftover tasks and responsibilities which the older, already established schools and colleges did not want—tasks that are difficult or unrewarding. In this respect,

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- Case Western Reserve Press, 1968 An account of a precedent-setting historical event in the development of Catholic education in America
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the community college is in the situation of the recently arrived immigrant who finds that the desirable jobs have already been taken, and so the only work left for him is the dirty work

The community college performs five main functions. First, it prepares students for transferring to a baccalaureate program at a four-year college or university. Second, it provides vocational training for people who are already working or expect to be working in the near future. Third, it gives remedial instruction to adults who did not learn basic skills in elementary or high school. Fourth, it offers recreational, cultural activities for adults who are not seeking regular vocational or academic skills. Finally, it diverts inept students away from a transfer, four-year program into a lower status vocational program.

Much of the community college's difficulty arises from the fact that only one of these five tasks — helping students to transfer to a four-year institution — is highly satisfying to a majority of community college faculties. Three other responsibilities — vocational, remedial, and recreational — carry less prestige but at least are generally considered worthwhile. The final task (diverting inept pupils away from a four year transfer program) cannot even be talked about in public; it subverts the American dream of success through education, and general awareness of this fact would make it difficult, if not impossible, to perform. Students desiring a four year college degree would not knowingly enter an institution designed to turn them away from their goal, however unrealistic that goal might be.

These five tasks largely determine the identity of the community college and provide the background for our analysis.¹ The first section of this chapter describes four aspects of the community college — its growth, diversity, origins, and control. The second section examines the college's five basic functions. The third section looks at the college's social composition, its students, faculty, and administration. From the structure, functions, and composition a characteristic, conservative response has emerged, and this is analyzed in the fourth section. The conclusion provides a brief summary, offers some evaluations, and suggests the direction the community college may take in the future.

RAPID GROWTH

Public community colleges are opening at the rate of more than fifty a year.² In 1971 the nation's 873 public community colleges had 2.5 million students. Their enrollment increase has been spectacular, rising from approximately 375 000 in 13 years.³

Among the reasons for the phenomenal rise of community colleges are their open admission policies, wide geographic distribution, and low

tuition These colleges offer programs for a greater variety of students than does any other segment of higher education, and they provide a chance for many to try higher education with small investments of time and money Guidance and counseling services reassure students who have not decided upon a field of specialization, and community colleges give many working adults the opportunity to upgrade skills while fully employed There are other factors, too, less obvious but just as important, which contributed to the rapid rise of the community college, and these will be discussed later

Not all junior or two year colleges are publicly supported There were 239 independent institutions in 1971 but they enrolled only 5 percent of all junior college students⁴ Public two year colleges nearly doubled in number between 1960 and 1970, while the number of nonpublic junior colleges declined⁵ The term *community college* in this chapter refers to the *comprehensive two year college*, one which offers not only freshman and sophomore courses, comparable to those offered by universities, but also occupational vocational, technical remedial, general, and continuing adult education These colleges charge little or no tuition the national average tuition is slightly under \$200 a year, and California's ninety four public community colleges are tuition free to residents of their districts⁶

Perhaps even more important is the absence of entry requirements Most community colleges have an open door policy This means that previous scholastic achievement — or lack of it — does not matter, all high school graduates are admitted, regardless of their grades In addition, many states require community colleges to admit *all* people beyond high school age, even if they have *not* graduated from secondary school

DIVERSITY

It is difficult to describe a typical community college because they are so varied Most immediately apparent are variations in size community college enrollments range from below 100 to more than 27,000 pupils⁷ There are other differences, too Some are fairly old and some are new Some are located in suburbs, others in the central city, and still others in rural areas Some are in poor communities, while others are in affluent districts While most two-year colleges offer several programs, some institutions stress vocational or technical preparation and others put more emphasis on academic subjects Consequently, some are little more than trade schools, while others resemble traditional four year colleges

ORIGINS

Despite widespread acceptance of the community college little is generally known of its history The public junior college appeared around

the turn of the century, when various educational leaders advocated creation of separate lower division institutions to relieve the universities of offering freshman and sophomore classes. These educators wished to free the universities to concentrate on upper division and graduate education.⁸ Their plan advocated increased educational opportunities beyond high school and the transfer of the most able junior college graduates to universities.⁹ Discussing advantages of such a new institution, William Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago, said

The student who was not really fitted by nature to take the higher work could stop naturally and honorably at the end of the sophomore year.

Many students who might not have the courage to enter upon a course of four years' study would be willing to do the two years of work before entering business or the professional school.¹⁰

But the community college did not develop according to Harper's plan. The rise of the community college as we know it owes much to the triumph of liberal over conservative educational philosophy. University leaders espoused the German ideal, envisioning the highly specialized education of an intellectual elite but this concept ran counter to American tradition and custom. Instead liberals wanted public education expanded to provide opportunities for everyone. This ideal led to creation of public elementary and secondary schools and eventually caused high schools to extend their offerings into the thirteenth and fourteenth grades.¹¹

Land grant colleges were another liberalizing development leading to a different type of two year college from that desired by early twentieth century university spokesmen. The land grant movement revolutionized higher education's curriculum by emphasizing technology, agriculture, and applied science. The success of the land grant colleges in extending higher education services to a broad segment of society resulted in their becoming universities. As universities have become research centers the community college has taken over a great deal of the service function of the land grant college movement.¹²

Summarizing the philosophy of educational liberals the Joliet, Illinois, Board of Education said

The basic function of public education should be to provide educational opportunity by teaching whatever needs to be learned to whoever needs to learn it whenever he needs to learn it.¹³

Acceptance of this position has led to the growth of the community college in all fifty states.

Just as certain states pioneered in the development of universal elementary and secondary public schools, so others have led in establish-

ment of community colleges. Joliet Junior College in Illinois is the oldest community college, dating from 1901. The first of California's ninety-four colleges, Fresno City College, opened in 1910. Missouri and Minnesota established public junior colleges in 1915, Kansas and Oklahoma followed in 1919, and Arizona and Iowa in 1920. These early institutions were true extensions of secondary education; they were housed in high school buildings, had closely articulated curricula, and shared faculty and administrative staffs.¹⁴ By 1921 the nation had 207 two-year colleges; only one-third were tax-supported institutions, but they enrolled more than half the 16,000 students attending junior colleges.¹⁵ Today the public colleges enroll 95 percent of all two-year college students.

Community colleges have developed at an uneven rate from state to state. In 1968 seven states — California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Texas, and Washington — had more than two-thirds of all community college students and more than one-third of all community college campuses. In the same year more than 30 percent of all undergraduates in ten states were registered in community colleges. In California 61 percent of all undergraduates and 85 percent of all lower-division students are enrolled in the two-year community college system.¹⁶

The development of community colleges in some states may be hindered by lack of a state plan, low population density, low per capita income, inadequate state financial support, and existence of other, competing types of two-year institutions. These competing institutions include existing community colleges, two-year branches of universities, and vocational or technical institutes. Development has been most spectacular in states where community colleges are primarily under local control.

CONTROL

When community colleges were first established, and for many years thereafter, they existed as part of local public school systems. California, in 1917, was the first to pass legislation allowing formation of separate two-year college districts. This has become the basic form of organization throughout the nation. There are now two main patterns: control shared by state and local government, and control delegated entirely to the state. In a few states some community colleges operate under the first plan while others within the same state operate under the second plan.¹⁷

Recently, there has been a trend toward centralization of control at the state level. This trend results from four factors: first, increased need for state financial support, as local governments find it more difficult to finance community colleges adequately; second, increased dependence on federal funds, which are administered by state agencies; third, in-

creased action toward coordinating all higher education efforts within a state, and fourth, the general politicization of higher education. Within the past ten years eighteen states have established separate state boards which have responsibility for community colleges only.¹⁸

The connection between local control and financing of the college and its sensitivity and responsiveness to local needs has long been recognized. If control is centralized at the state level we might expect diminishing local spirit and an inability to adapt to local conditions on the community college's part. But a recent study suggests that there may be no difference between a community college under state control and another under local control as far as community centeredness is concerned.

Two factors contribute to this similarity professional orthodoxy and community expectations. First, professional educators and organizations promote an orthodoxy which makes community colleges more or less similar in programs and services. Educators throughout the nation tend to think alike. They take similar courses from similar professors at similar universities, study similar textbooks, qualify for similar credentials, belong to the same professional organizations, and read the same professional journals. It is not surprising therefore to find similarities among community colleges.

A second reason why two year colleges resemble one another arises from community expectations. Americans in all fifty states have similar hopes, ideals, and ambitions and similar beliefs about what education should offer. Although the professional educator may disagree with some of these beliefs, thinking them to be unsophisticated or misguided, they cannot be totally ignored and therefore do have some influence upon the college.

Functions

The five basic tasks of the community college are usually apparent in its catalog listings of objectives. A representative statement from a California community college bulletin says:

Because the specific needs for education vary greatly among individuals and because the college is vitally concerned with the educational needs of every high school graduate and adult in the community, the college provides the following programs:

1 Two-year curricula which are equivalent to freshman and sophomore years at a university or college

2 Curricula in preparation for immediate employment in a number of semiprofessional industrial business and technical fields designed to meet the employment needs of the area served

3 A general education program for personal enrichment and cultural development

4 Courses designed to make up high school deficiencies, permitting further education and training at the college level

5 A program of guidance and orientation making the individual aware of his special abilities and aptitudes¹⁹

This official statement is worth examining because it lists the basic functions of the community college transfer, vocational, recreational, remedial and diversionary

THE TRANSFER FUNCTION

Perhaps the expectation held by the largest number of people is that of providing transferable credit leading to the bachelor's degree. Therefore community colleges offer many of the same courses given to freshmen and sophomores at four year colleges and universities. Two thirds of the students entering community college intend to transfer to a four year institution²⁰

Since a majority of students and, presumably, parents expect the community college to provide its graduates with preparation for social mobility through a university degree, the two year institution feels great pressure to perform this transfer function. If community college graduates lose credits upon transferring to a four year institution, the two year school is usually blamed although the real cause may be the four year institution's policies and changing requirements, especially if articulation between the senior institution and the community college is poor. Loss of credit may also arise from poor planning on the student's part but the blame is easily laid upon the two year college, and it is accused of lax academic standards

Pressure to perform the transfer function is also evident in the particular aspects of community colleges emphasized in research

an overwhelming majority of studies examine the success of the transfer student but the transfer student comprises only one third of the community college's student body. There is little available research on junior college dropouts or on those who graduate from technical or vocational programs. Junior college research is 'hung up' with studies of transfer students²¹

THE VOCATIONAL FUNCTION

The second expectation is that the college will provide suitable vocational technical training for all who desire it. Although most students entering community college want to transfer eventually to a four-year college, only a minority actually do. The rest of the pupils are "terminal"—their higher education will end in the community college, instead of a

bachelor's degree, they will receive an associate of arts degree, or perhaps a certificate of completion. These terminal students must be provided for.

Besides the regular academic transfer courses, therefore, community colleges offer many one or two year vocational and technical programs. These fall into five major categories business related, business administration, industry and engineering, paramedical and health, and service fields." A complete listing of all the courses offered would be far too long to include here, so the following are simply examples to illustrate each category.

First, business related programs include training to be a data-processing technician, legal secretary, real estate salesman, or technical illustrator.

Second, business administration takes in such programs as accounting, foreign trade, marketing, and personnel management.

Third, industry- and engineering related programs offer several subdivisions. Mechanical technology includes air-conditioning, refrigeration, and automotive mechanics. Electronics technology deals with computers, radar, television, and microwaves. Civil technology gives preparation for sanitation technician, concrete technician, and architectural draftsman. Engineering laboratory teaches ceramics, metallurgy, and plastics.

The fourth major vocational area consists of health-related programs. Among the more than fifty courses in this category are dental assistant, radioisotope technician, and registered nurse.

The fifth category is the service field. Examples of the many programs here are building inspector, community organization worker, assessor, and welfare worker.

This is only a partial listing of vocational courses available. Many colleges offer police and fire science programs, and agricultural curricula are prominent in a number of institutions. Modesto (California) Junior College offers eighteen agricultural programs which can be taken as two-year terminal curricula or as preparation for transfer. As might be expected, vocational and technical programs show wide variety in different sections of the country, reflecting local needs and interests. For example, Lassen College, in one of California's major hunting areas, offers a two year program in gunsmithing.

THE RECREATIONAL FUNCTION

A third task of the community college involves cultural, recreational activities. Traditional courses in such fields as drawing, literature, or music appreciation constitute only a part of this broad area. The community also expects cultural leadership from the college lectures, dramatic productions, musical events, and other cultural activities, provided by faculty.

and students or imported talent. The response to this expectation has been the development of community services—educational, cultural, and recreational offerings provided in addition to regularly scheduled credit courses. Two-year colleges generally perform a wide variety of these community services, over and beyond formal classroom instruction. A survey of 243 colleges found that 90 percent were offering such services. The most common service, mentioned by two thirds of the institutions reporting any kind of service, consisted simply of allowing local groups to use college buildings and grounds.²³

About half of the colleges offering community services assisted in safety campaigns and fund drives, organized special events such as workshops or institutes for business, professional, or governmental groups, and/or promoted cultural or recreational activities such as community musical groups, little theater productions, and the like.²⁴

Three other activities were reported by about a third of the colleges offering community services: promoting community discussion of public affairs, working with other agencies to improve community health, and using faculty and students for community studies.²⁵

Finally, a fifth of the colleges offered such services as use of college staff as speakers off campus, assisting in conservation programs, research for local business and professional groups, and organization of child care programs.²⁶

- Community service programs generally have four major objectives:
- 1 To become a center of community life by encouraging the use of college facilities and services by community groups when such use does not interfere with the college's regular schedule.
 - 2 To provide for all age groups educational services that utilize the special skills and knowledge of the college staff and other experts and are designed to meet the needs of community groups and the college district at large.
 - 3 To provide the community, including business and industry, with the leadership and coordination capabilities of the college, assist the community in long range planning, and join with individuals and groups in attacking unsolved problems.
 - 4 To contribute to and promote the cultural, intellectual, and social life of the college district community and the development of skills for the profitable use of leisure time.²⁷

Examples of activities in each of these categories are found throughout the nation, but the community service function is most widely developed in California, where the local governing board has the authority to levy a "civic center" tax of up to five cents per \$100 of assessed valuation on property. In 1970 California's community colleges reported attendance

bachelor's degree, they will receive an associate of arts degree, or perhaps a certificate of completion. These terminal students must be provided for.

Besides the regular academic transfer courses, therefore, community colleges offer many one- or two-year vocational and technical programs. These fall into five major categories: business related, business administration, industry and engineering, paramedical and health, and service fields.²² A complete listing of all the courses offered would be far too long to include here, so the following are simply examples to illustrate each category.

First, business related programs include training to be a data-processing technician, legal secretary, real estate salesman, or technical illustrator.

Second, business administration takes in such programs as accounting, foreign trade, marketing and personnel management.

Third, industry- and engineering related programs offer several subdivisions. Mechanical technology includes air conditioning, refrigeration, and automotive mechanics. Electronics technology deals with computers, radar, television, and microwaves. Civil technology gives preparation for sanitation technician, concrete technician, and architectural draftsman. Engineering laboratory teaches ceramics, metallurgy, and plastics.

The fourth major vocational area consists of health related programs. Among the more than fifty courses in this category are dental assistant, radioisotope technician, and registered nurse.

The fifth category is the service field. Examples of the many programs here are building inspector, community organization worker, assessor, and welfare worker.

This is only a partial listing of vocational courses available. Many colleges offer police and fire science programs, and agricultural curricula are prominent in a number of institutions. Modesto (California) Junior College offers eighteen agricultural programs which can be taken as two-year terminal curricula or as preparation for transfer. As might be expected, vocational and technical programs show wide variety in different sections of the country, reflecting local needs and interests. For example, Lassen College, in one of California's major hunting areas, offers a two-year program in gunsmithing.

THE RECREATIONAL FUNCTION

A third task of the community college involves cultural, recreational activities. Traditional courses in such fields as drawing, literature, or music appreciation constitute only a part of this broad area. The community also expects cultural leadership from the college: lectures, dramatic productions, musical events, and other cultural activities, provided by faculty

and students or imported talent. The response to this expectation has been the development of community services—educational, cultural, and recreational offerings provided in addition to regularly scheduled credit courses. Two-year colleges generally perform a wide variety of these community services, over and beyond formal classroom instruction. A survey of 243 colleges found that 90 percent were offering such services. The most common service, mentioned by two thirds of the institutions reporting any kind of service, consisted simply of allowing local groups to use college buildings and grounds.²³

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of 15 to 20 million people at community-service functions. The average college was open fourteen hours a day, six days a week, throughout the year.²⁸

To summarize, community services are a major function of the two-year college, offering such diverse activities as noncredit short courses, college credit extension classes, in service training, community counseling, human-resources development, leadership and advisory assistance, polls and surveys, cultural events, recreational programs, planetarium and observatory shows, and community performing groups.

THE REMEDIAL FUNCTION

The fourth task is remedial education. The community college is expected to provide instruction in the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic for people whose previous education was inadequate. These courses, though intended for adults, may deal with very simple material, perhaps covering things which are usually taught to children in elementary schools.

Remedial education is a major problem for the community college.

With pressures from society to lengthen the educational experience of all students, the low achieving student has become conspicuous in community colleges. No semantical niceties will cover or hide the issue. No matter what the student is called, his problem is the same. To the extent that colleges can identify these students and provide meaningful educational experiences for them, the institution has implemented the concept of the open door. If students are so identified and then allowed to fail, the community junior college has adopted a revolving door.²⁹

But difficulties arise because the community college and its personnel do not like their remedial task. Consequently, even when low-achieving students are identified, it is often the inexperienced instructor who is assigned to teach remedial classes. The typical teacher is a subject specialist who regards remedial instruction as beneath his dignity. He wants to teach youth who are motivated and easy to instruct. This attitude is reflected in the fact that only 55 percent of community colleges provide special remedial courses for low achievers despite their agreeing, to the extent of 91 percent, with the open door concept. Only 20 percent have established special programs for low achievers. The other 80 percent apparently attempt to salvage such students through remedial courses that are available to all students, but several colleges have discovered that regular remedial courses are too difficult for many students admitted under the open door policy.³⁰ The few colleges that have evaluated their remedial programs have found that such programs are not equipping low achievers to undertake regular college credit courses.

Although remedial education is quickly becoming the community college's largest instructional endeavor, one expert doubts that the community college, as presently organized, can handle remedial students effectively. He asks

Can a junior college remedial course rightfully expect to accomplish in one or two semesters what the public schools have failed to accomplish in twelve years? Answers to these and other related questions are not available, and the college has based its remedial programs on unproved assumptions.³¹

Research on remedial program effectiveness is avoided because if parents and taxpayers realized how ineffective the community college has been with low achievers, the entire institution would be in jeopardy.³²

THE DIVERSIONARY ("COOLING OUT") FUNCTION

The fifth major task of the community college is redirecting or "cooling out" overly ambitious pupils. The community college is inundated with students from all levels of ability, and many of them have unrealistic expectations about getting a college education. The United States Commissioner of Education recently complained

We have hypnotized ourselves. We are so preoccupied with higher education that it has become a national fetish. High schools measure their success by the number of their students who go on to college. People view vocational education as a great thing for the neighbor's children.³³

What does the community college do with a youth who is destined to be unsuccessful as a transfer student and must either accept a vocational program or fail? It is this student, the latent terminal, who is one of the community college's greatest concerns. The self-declared terminal student is no problem, and the academically proficient transfer student is easily handled. But the difficult ones are those who are overambitious, who are failing in their community college academic work but who still want to transfer to a four year college.³⁴ For these latent terminal students, community colleges have developed what Clark calls the "cooling-out function." Throughout their stay at the college, these students are urged by teacher-counselors to give up their transfer intentions, and the counselors stand ready to console them if they accept a terminal program. In the long drawn-out counseling procedure the college hopes never to say a final "no" but to move these students gradually into a position where they declare themselves out of the transfer competition. Although latent terminal students are allowed to enroll in transfer courses, they encounter counseling and testing, tough talk about realistic occupational choices in orientation classes, probationary status, and, finally, grades which will not be accepted by a four year institution.³⁵

The innovation of the junior college in performing the cooling-out function lies in providing acceptable alternatives. At a four-year college or university freshmen who fail must leave, usually to return home. They are no longer in college, and their failures are obvious to themselves and to their families, friends, and neighbors. In the two-year college, students do not fail so clearly, they have the option of remaining in school and taking terminal work suited to their abilities. They are helped to reach the conclusion that their second choice is better for them, and the community college can make them appear not too different from successful transfer students by training them to become engineering aides instead of engineers, for instance. The terminal student thus emerges with acceptable status and is not labeled as a failure.³⁶

The community college's role in performing the cooling-out function will become even more important in the future. Increasing demand for college admission will give selective four-year colleges an opportunity to become even more selective, deepening the need for the cooling-out function. But the two year college needs to conceal its cooling-out function and prevent prospective clientele from perceiving it because

Should the function become obvious, the ability of the junior college to perform it would be impaired. The realization that the junior college is a place where students reach undesired destinations would turn the pressure for college admission back on the "protected" colleges. The widespread identification of the junior college as principally a transfer station aided by the ambiguity of the "community college" label helps to keep this role reasonably opaque to public scrutiny.³⁷

Clark does not mean that the junior college is especially guilty of masking its work, since all sorts of "organizations attempt to present a favorable image to the outside world, and various ideologies and conceptions are used to rationalize and cover organizational practices."³⁸ In performing the cooling out function, the two year college makes a contribution to society, because

An important effect of the unselective college is to permit a system of higher education as a whole to be both 'democratic' and selective. All can go to college, with participation differentiated among agencies that vary from highly selective to nonselective. The junior college makes this possible.³⁹

Students

An important characteristic of the community college student body is its diversity. In contrast to students in four-year colleges and universities, community college students represent a broader spectrum of capacity and performance.⁴⁰ Although it is generally believed that all four year college students are intellectually superior to two year college students,

this impression is not true — many community college students are superior to many students in four-year institutions.⁴¹ On the other hand, the open-door policy admits all applicants, and so some students do indeed have little academic aptitude.

Generally speaking, community college students tend to be representative of the total population of their communities. In many ways these students resemble the high school populations from which they have emerged, but there are two important exceptions: (1) many students are much older than recent high school graduates, and (2) women and various nonwhite ethnic groups (except for Japanese and Chinese Americans) are underrepresented.

The rest of this section examines the student body with respect to age, academic achievement, and socioeconomic status and then looks at some effects the students have upon the college.

AGE

YOUTH The easiest division to make among community college students is that of college-age youth and adults. In the past the division point between these two groups, of approximately the same size, has been the age of twenty-one. But recent extension of voting rights to eighteen-year-olds may bring about drastic changes. Virtually the entire student body will now be voters, and the younger half will be able to pass judgment on the college's performance when they enter the polling booth in elections concerning the school. In states where community colleges depend heavily on local district tax funds, the effect of youthful voters could become critical. If legislatures or courts extend the right to establish legal residence to eighteen-year-olds, local district boundaries will become meaningless; statewide community college organization would become a reality.

This possibility worries administrators, who foresee a possible influx of students into districts that could not afford to keep colleges open on the local tax base. The registrar of a community college in a popular California resort area says his school rejects hundreds of out-of-district applicants each year. If these students were able to make this college district their legal residence, they would swarm into the college. Since the local taxpayers provide 75 percent of the school's operating revenue, the situation could become catastrophic unless legislatures assume state responsibility for funding community colleges. Otherwise, if eighteen-year-olds are allowed freedom in establishing residence, financial disaster may await many community colleges.⁴²

The under-twenty-one group and the adults have differing perceptions of the community college. Young students tend to enter university transfer programs. They perceive the college as a public institution providing

them with an opportunity to acquire the material benefits of an affluent society. They regard the opportunity as a right, and they are encouraged in this view by the widely held belief that higher education is the key to success. Although 68 percent of two year college students come from homes of unskilled, skilled, and semiprofessional workers, nearly two thirds of them aspire to managerial and professional occupations.⁴³

Another group of students in the community college are even younger than the usual college freshmen—high school juniors and seniors taking courses by special arrangement. They would be atypical on a four-year college or university campus. One California two year school has sixty-five such students taking college credit courses with their principal's permission. A significant number of these students can, by taking one or two college courses each semester, complete a portion of required freshman work and enter advanced classes, special projects, and tutorial situations as first year college students.

ADULTS In contrast to college age students, the majority of adult students hold full time jobs, have families, and are involved in activities which bear little or no relation to the college. Adult students choose courses to reach immediate goals. One study reports that 85 percent indicated that they were taking courses in order to secure better jobs.⁴⁴

Among adult students, males and a group of women—single, divorced, and widowed—have quite similar reasons for attending college. They usually have employment or will seek it as soon as they obtain the necessary training. They want economic independence through vocational competence. Married women attend college for many reasons; they want to earn supplemental income for their families, some seek intellectual stimulation to fill the void left in their lives when children grow up, others work to broaden their interests in order to live in effective partnership with their husbands.

Among community college adult students, one meets individuals not usually expected on a college campus, and their characteristics further emphasize the diversity found on community college campuses. For example, a seventy year old man who had retired from a newspaper career returned to college to earn an art degree. He had withdrawn from the Berkeley campus of the University of California before World War I to become the youngest member of the California legislature.

A young science instructor at the college enrolled in beginning Russian and Chinese classes and continued his study through the entire course offerings in those languages. His purpose was to gain a reading knowledge of the languages in order to read scientific journals.

The parts department manager of a local automobile agency took

evening classes each semester for eleven years before completing his associate degree in accounting. As a result he has moved into a position of more responsibility with the firm. An interesting sidelight on his being a student was that his nineteen year old daughter received her associate degree at the same commencement exercise attended by her graduating father.

The holder of two baccalaureate degrees, one in engineering and the other in geology, enrolled in the two year associate in arts journalism program. This forty five year old whose two children had married and left home, wanted to develop a syndicated column on hunting and fishing, his principal leisure activities.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

TRANSFER STUDENTS Community college students can also be categorized by academic achievement. The most successful students are considered to be those who transfer to a four year institution. Of those a majority earn a baccalaureate degree.⁴⁵ In California 85 percent of those who transfer as junior level students "complete their four year objectives."⁴⁶ Transfer students as a group experience a drop in grade point average during their first semester at four year schools but during the second semester their grade point average rises. A recent study of community college transfer students' performance in the California state colleges found that almost half (46 percent) of the students actually received better averages in the four year college than in the two year school. Another 7 percent earned equal averages in both schools. Thus in spite of stiffer competition and the less personal atmosphere of four-year colleges the majority of transfer students adjusted satisfactorily. In addition they succeeded without selecting easier courses. The community college transfers chose major fields similar to those of native students at the four year schools.⁴⁷

A particularly interesting group of transfer students are the late bloomers. In handling a diverse student body, the community college often performs a valuable service by salvaging people who had undistinguished high school records. Given time to mature they frequently catch fire and do very well in college. Two recent examples come to mind: a twenty year old mother of two small children had married at sixteen, dropped out of high school and had been divorced. On welfare, she decided to return to school to become self supporting. At the community college she discovered much to her surprise that she enjoyed English and American literature. After earning her associate degree in English she transferred to a state college and graduated with honors and remained to earn a teaching credential. For several years she has

been teaching in a large city high school, where she is rated as a superior teacher.

The second case is that of a highly intelligent young man who was counseled into a high school program heavily weighted with shop courses. He disliked school and finished with a D average. His carpenter father was pleased that the son had studied auto shop, and the father expected the youth to set up a body and fender shop. But the young man's intellectual curiosity led him to enroll at the nearby community college, where he discovered his interest in political science. He credits the superior teaching methods at the community college with giving him the tools for study, and his A minus grade point average for the first two years earned him a place as a junior in the University of California. There he completed a degree in political science.

Stories like these are common. Perhaps the cost and inconvenience of administering an unselected student body is small enough to pay since we cannot place a dollar value on the successful salvage function of the community college. Successful salvage operations are widely discussed, and they contribute to the general public acceptance of the community college.

DROPOUTS Since the community college admits practically all applicants, regardless of their ability and motivation, it is not surprising that many students drop out of school. Total community college freshman enrollment in 1969 was 12 million, but sophomores accounted for only 470,000.⁴⁸ Many critics assume that the large decrease between freshman and sophomore classes is attributable to simple dropping out of school before finishing the program chosen, and they assume that this attrition is due to the presence of poorly prepared or unmotivated students who should never have been allowed to enter college. But not all students who leave in less than two years are poor students. Many who were eligible to attend state colleges or universities upon high school graduation enter the community college and remain there for a semester or two before transferring to the four-year school, and many occupational-vocational students enter the community college with the intention of taking a one-year certificate course. All college attrition rates have averaged approximately 50 percent over the past forty years, and community college dropout rates are currently at the same level. It may be desirable for the rate to remain high, for

if the junior college accepted accountability for putting all students through school, the "dropout problem" would become one for the upper division of the university and eventually, for the graduate school to reconcile.⁴⁹

Perhaps we cannot reasonably expect to lower the dropout rate when

we seem to be committed to educating all who desire education through the fourteenth year in an open-door institution admitting students of such great diversity

At any rate, there are huge numbers of low-achieving students who enter the community college with deficiencies in basic skills, poor study habits, weak motivation, and ill defined or unrealistic goals. Almost 70 percent of freshmen entering California community colleges in 1965 failed the qualifying examination for the basic English transfer course. Nearly 75 percent of all students in California community college mathematics classes were taking courses offered in high schools. Between 40 and 60 percent of all in remedial English classes earned grades of D or F, and only 20 percent of these students later enrolled in college credit courses.⁵⁰

Many of these poor students are from low income, minority groups, and their problems are examined in the following section.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

UNDERPRIVILEGED STUDENTS The open door is claimed to democratize higher education because the community college is open to everyone, regardless of economic status, but it does not always work out this way. Four obstacles may hinder lower class people. The first is money. Tuition is not the only economic problem, there are other financial hurdles, such as the necessity of earning a living, which prevent many poor people from attending college.

Noting that 561 applicants for fall 1966 completed admission procedures but failed to enroll, an official of a California community college asked them why. Financial problems were mentioned as obstacles by many who did not enroll, 42 percent claimed that they must work in order to attend college. Financial problems were significant enough to lead the investigator to suggest that the college establish a financial aid program.⁵¹ In another California community college, the financial aid officer said that 1,200 of the school's 3,600 potential freshmen applied for work study programs, grants, and other aid in order to attend the tuition free school in September 1971. He expected to arrange assistance for 600, but he predicted that between 400 and 600 of the others would not register simply because of financial problems. Apparently between one sixth and one ninth of that school's potential freshmen would be unable to attend school because of financial limitations.⁵²

A reviewer of past research observes, "While students attending junior colleges say that cost and location are prime factors in their selection of a college, few confess to major financial worries, and the cost factor alone does not seem to prevent students from seeking higher educa-

been teaching in a large city high school, where she is rated as a superior teacher

The second case is that of a highly intelligent young man who was counseled into a high school program heavily weighted with shop courses. He disliked school and finished with a D average. His carpenter father was pleased that the son had studied auto shop, and the father expected the youth to set up a body and fender shop. But the young man's intellectual curiosity led him to enroll at the nearby community college, where he discovered his interest in political science. He credits the superior teaching methods at the community college with giving him the tools for study, and his A-minus grade point average for the first two years earned him a place as a junior in the University of California. There he completed a degree in political science.

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Among their peers in high school, the school English cannot be used in speech without fear of derision. And the same situation applies at home. When these students enter college, they often fail to speak in class for fear of appearing foolish or being corrected. They are discouraged by the conflict between the way they must speak at college, if they speak at all, and the way they are expected to speak to parents and noncollege friends.

A fourth common obstacle to success in college is the student's attitude. Poor or minority students frequently lack involvement in college life, arising from the fact that they are suspicious of those in power. Often this feeling is the result of parents teaching them that people will exploit them if they can, and they become passive in college as a result of suspicion and cynicism.⁵⁷

Finances, parental, and noncollege peer opposition, speech patterns, and a lack of participation in school life combine to breed a lack of confidence, often leading the bright low status student to leave school. One described the dilemma:

My back is to the wall and I'm scared because I'm out of my depth, and not just academically. This is a whole new world here. I don't talk the same language, even. I was top in my class at vocational high school, and I think I'm bright enough to have done college work, but something's getting in the way. I don't belong. If I'm not in class some day, you'll know I couldn't take it any longer.⁵⁸

Another, leaving school, explained:

It was an experiment, and I'm glad I made it. Maybe it looks like failure, but I don't look at it that way, or I try not to. Being in college was like having a window on another world and I'm glad that I saw what that other world was. But I *cannot* adapt to it.⁵⁹

Thus, four obstacles—money, parents and friends, speech, and attitudes—keep many people out of college. Nevertheless, community colleges enroll a much larger percentage of students from low socio-economic backgrounds than do universities and four-year colleges. A classic study illustrates the social class differences among students in community colleges, state colleges, state universities, and private universities. Fathers of freshmen at four institutions were classified as white- or blue collar workers. The percentage of blue collar fathers represented by first year students was 6 for Stanford University, 17 for the Berkeley campus of the University of California, 45 for San Jose State College, and 62 for San Jose Junior College. The study also classified home neighborhoods as high or low status. At Stanford 13 percent of the students came from low-status neighborhoods, at Berkeley the percentage

tion⁵³ This statement seems to contradict the above discussion concerning financial barriers unless we consider that the writer speaks of "students attending junior colleges" not those who fail to show up in research studies simply because they have never enrolled.

Family and friends may be a second barrier to college attendance. Despite economic problems, many first generation college going students do go to a community college, where they may suffer from the "strains of mobility." Parents of these students often feel threatened by potential change of values and the social mobility which develop if their children become absorbed by the college world. Many such parents see no connection between economic success and education, and they may encourage their children to get jobs as soon as they finish high school. If the student persists in attending college, he may be required to make substantial board and room payments to his parents. Many students fail academically because of the necessity of working long hours. An eastern college president says parental opposition may become quite intense.

The college sometimes finds that the parent is an adversary. We are counseling the student to work fewer hours outside the college for remuneration, the parents are directly or indirectly pressing for more. Why send grades home addressed to the parent if a failing grade is going to result in a parent's saying not "You must study harder" but, 'See, I told you it was all a waste of time'?⁵⁴

Further illustrating low income student problems created by parents' values, a young male veteran said:

I wish I could talk with my parents about what I'm doing in college. They have a pretty rigid view of the world, and they aren't articulate. So we don't talk, because it would end up in a fight or in somebody's being hurt. Some of the kids have had to break completely with their parents but I'm trying not to do that. I still love them, even though I don't want to be like them.⁵⁵

Parents are not the only people who hinder working class youths from continuing their education beyond high school. Other relatives, neighbors, and friends often oppose the working class student's efforts toward upward social mobility. This opposition may be direct or subtle. The most direct kind of pressure came to a student when peers who were not going to college threw eggs at him during his appearance in a college play. Low status students pay for their mobility in the loss of old friends faster than they can make new ones in the college world, and estrangement from parents and siblings often leads to great loneliness.⁵⁶

A third obstacle to college attendance for many poor people is speech. These students use nonstandard English, and their speech seems untouched by previous schooling. They have learned two different English languages, one for writing school papers and another for speaking.

community colleges, where admission is open and unselective. Community college students may also be less active not only because they are less mature and intellectually inclined, but also because many of them must work to remain in school; they cannot afford to spend several days in a protest. Many of those who might become activist leaders have campus grants or jobs as tutors, student counselors, or teacher aides, when they accept such assignments, any tendency toward militancy usually wanes. Apathy toward student government and college governance characterizes the vast majority of community college students. A student editor complained how few students were interested:

Junior college isn't a place where things get done on a large scale. It's hard to get parking lots paved, to get better cafeteria service, to give away 5,000 school papers to a 20,000 member student body. When the jukebox was removed there were many cries but they soon died after the realization by these students that they would have to go through a long and involved process to get it back.⁶³

It is interesting to note that the editor's first complaint deals with parking, perhaps the chief concern of commuters, which most community college students are. Student indifference led a faculty member to remark that "the only thing that would cause these kids to go into action would be the chance of getting some of the faculty's parking slots."⁶⁴

Such an atmosphere has varied consequences. Some potentially good students do not perform as well as they might, because they find little in the community college to stimulate their thinking. In this respect, the lack of intellectual excitement is certainly unfortunate.

On the other hand, the same low level of intellectualism reduces the chance of antagonism between the college and the community in which it is located. For centuries, "town and gown" conflicts have been a part of higher education, aggravated by sharp contrasts between the beliefs and life styles of ordinary citizens and those of students and professors. To the degree that these differences decrease, the probability of conflict is also diminished. Because community college students resemble average townspeople more than university students do, there is less chance of misunderstanding between the college and the adjacent town.

This is important because the town supplies most of the money for the community college and has some voice in its policies. Community colleges are more vulnerable to local pressures than are state universities, which are supported by a much larger geographical area and therefore can afford to be less concerned with local public opinion. Private colleges, too, do not have to rely on public funds and therefore can be more

was 4, at San Jose State College it was 25, and at San Jose Junior College it reached 45. The author concluded

In states with complex systems of higher education the question, Who goes to college? needs to be supplemented by the question, To which of the major types of colleges? With unlimited access to the junior college and only modestly limited access to the state college, the most important socioeconomic distinctions may well be found increasingly within higher education rather than between college and noncollege.⁶⁰

Socioeconomic standing apparently is related to choice of college courses: students in vocational programs come from the poorest families, technical students have higher social origins, and students in academic classes come from still higher socioeconomic strata.⁶¹

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE COLLEGE

College affects the students, but students also have some effect upon the college, particularly with respect to antimaterialism and apathy, which are unfortunate for the students' intellectual development but may be beneficial for the college's relations with the local community.

Many community college students are not much interested in intellectual activity, but because of the prohibitive cost of maintaining separate classes for terminal students, colleges mix them with bona fide transfer students in courses such as English, history, political science, sociology, and economics. This mixture lowers overall class ability so that teachers are faced with a hard decision: should they hold the work to a content and level expected by other colleges or should they make it easier for the declared and latent terminal students?

High ability transfer students take their training in a classroom filled largely with students of lower ability than those found in selective colleges, the resulting lack of competition handicaps their intellectual development. Teachers recognize this fact clearly. At San Jose Junior College 74 percent of the faculty preferred to send their own sons to a four-year college. Explaining why, the faculty said that the caliber of four-year college students would be higher, and the competition and intellectual stimulation among students greater. A more recent study reaffirms the San Jose faculty impression: the "environmental press" of large junior colleges is perhaps antimaterialist and adolescent.⁶²

Another student-related factor is apathy toward political and social issues. Community college campuses are relatively peaceful, and activism is moderate in comparison with what goes on at many four-year schools. Demands for admission of more minority students, a favorite activist cause on four-year campuses, attracts little or no attention in

ample, have widely varying teaching loads, 57 percent spend from thirteen to fifteen hours a week in classroom instruction, 32 percent have work loads of nine to twelve hours, 6 percent teach sixteen hours or more, and less than 1 percent meet classes for less than nine hours a week.⁶⁶

Salaries of community college teachers compare favorably with those in four-year institutions at the assistant professor level, but they lag behind the maximum rates for those at the top of the salary schedule. Fringe benefits for community college faculties are a recent development, but increased retirement allowances, improved sabbatical leave policies, and health and dental plans are now common.

Other differences between community college and university faculty are apparent in the area of policymaking. The university faculty, through committees and senates, may have a strong influence upon their school, and they are relatively insulated from external pressures, either from private groups or governmental agencies. They feel that their status with their professional colleagues is the most important criterion for success. In many cases, they are more concerned with their image and their acquaintances on a national or even international level than within the college that employs them or the community in which they live. This has been termed a "cosmopolitan" outlook, in contrast to a "local" orientation. The latter is more typical of community college personnel, who are more concerned with their relationships within their college and their community.

In the community college, the faculty's influence is limited by the structure of administration. Having developed from the public school pattern, the chief administrator of the college is still viewed much like a school principal. Direction flows from the board of education down through the superintendent/president and academic dean, not up from the faculty. Until recently, the faculty has had little voice in college policies. In addition, two year faculties and administrations are much more responsive than four-year colleges to external pressure groups, and to state and local government. The structure and influence of the community college faculty more nearly approximate those of secondary school teachers than of university faculties.⁶⁷ Administrative influence upon community college policymaking is mentioned in a national study of the teaching of English. Many English departments had not developed clearly defined procedures for policymaking. This failure is attributed, at least in part, to "the paternal role played by the central administration in departmental matters. Often the selection of new staff members, the setting of teaching loads, and the establishment of class size are areas in which the department has little voice."⁶⁸

independent But the community college has to maintain good relations with the local community, and it is aided in doing so by the absence of intellectualism and strong social concern which would be abrasive to many people in the society at large

Faculty

Although community college faculties teach a variety of courses and come from various sources, they share some characteristics They are, typically, married, middle-aged, politically moderate men with master's degrees, for whom the community college, in spite of its disadvantages, still seems preferable to teaching high school or working in business Nevertheless, many teachers resent the responsibilities of the two-year college and wish it was more like a four-year college or university

This discussion of the faculty is divided into two parts The first analyzes the role of the faculty in the community college, and the second examines characteristics of the people who fill these roles

THE ROLE OF THE FACULTY

The community college resembles a high school as much as it does a four-year institution Perhaps the most important difference is that attendance at high school is compulsory, while students at the community college are there because they want to be This voluntary attendance, along with greater age and maturity, means that community college teachers do not have the troublesome discipline problems found in many elementary and secondary schools

University and community college faculties have different responsibilities The university professor is expected not only to teach, but also to engage in research and publication, and to serve as a consultant to business, industry, and government His contacts with students are limited In contrast, community college instructors are considered teachers above all, though they may have other duties, too The two year college teacher has been described by Brawer as a "cross between a high school teacher, a research man, a chaperon, and a personal and public relations counselor"⁶⁵

Community college instructors teach more hours a week than do university and four year college instructors Traditionally, this work load has been justified on the grounds that two-year faculty is not required to engage in research and publication Nationally the average number of teaching hours a week ranges from about fifteen to eighteen, with slightly higher totals in laboratory situations Of course, there are variations between colleges, departments, and courses Teachers of English, for ex-

At the university the profs dominate the classes, there's less discussion and exchange between student and instructor

Now I know I was shunted into shop courses in high school by counselors I took the minimum of academic courses and I doubt that I'd have succeeded in university or state college even if I had qualified for entrance School was always a dull thing, but the liberal arts instruction at _____ College helped me synthesize knowledge from various sources for the first time It was almost like getting a high from music or drugs, being there⁷³

To the extent that instruction actually is better in the community college than in four-year institutions, it may reflect the community colleges' greater emphasis upon teaching, and the absence of pressure to do research It may also reflect the type of person recruited into community college teaching, we now turn to consider this topic

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FACULTY

The 100,000 community college staff members, like their students, show considerable diversity Besides the faculty necessary to teach standard college courses in social sciences, English, foreign languages, physical and life sciences, business, and other fields, the community colleges employ instructors for many technical, vocational, and occupational programs The majority of community college faculty are in their thirties and forties Nine percent of the staff have a doctor's degree and 78 percent have a master's degree Practically all teachers with less than a master's degree are in vocational and technical programs⁷⁴

Community college faculty come from many sources In the past, almost one third have come from public school work as teachers, administrators, or counselors Those entering community college service directly from graduate school have accounted for one fourth, and faculty from four-year colleges and universities have made up one tenth The remainder have come from business, industry, nursing, and other fields A recent study indicates that community colleges may be changing their employment preferences toward favoring instructors who have already had community college teaching experience over those whose highest level of previous teaching had been in secondary schools⁷⁵ Among 1,646 new faculty members hired by California community colleges for the 1970-1971 academic year, the largest category, 30 percent, came with previous community college experience, 24 percent had taught in high schools, and 18 percent came from four-year institutions The percentage recruited from high schools declined 12 percent since 1967, while the percentage with previous community college teaching experience rose by a similar amount Subject fields which recruited higher than average percentages from high schools were agriculture, physical education, counseling, journalism, English, geography, and history⁷⁶

Community college faculty senates began to appear in the midsixties, but they have not yet acquired the power and prestige of the four-year college and university senates.⁶⁹ A survey of community college senates showed that only half the senates made recommendations on "all college matters." Instead, most of the recommendations were restricted to matters affecting their personal lives and working conditions and, to a lesser degree to instructional improvement, academic freedom, and controversial policy issues.⁷⁰

Academic freedom for the community college faculty is often more limited than for the university faculty. There are at least three reasons for this limitation.⁷¹ First, the two year college operates as part of the local community. Its staff members are also friends and neighbors of students and parents, board members, and influential citizens. Consequently, deviations from the traditions of the community are immediately apparent to every one. This visibility exerts a pervasive influence toward conformity by the faculty.

Second, local communities are likely to be conservative on matters which have a direct bearing upon the status quo. If the faculty threatened the social or economic balance of the community, there might be a strong negative reaction.

Finally, students at two year colleges are usually less sophisticated and more conservative than those in other kinds of colleges. They may tell their parents about the new ideas they encounter in college, and some of these reports may lead to misunderstandings, bad feelings, and complaints about courses or their contents. Teachers, too, may be the target of criticism, not only from the public but also from administrators. For instance, a community college president stated that "the image of the faculty — like the image of the physician — is no longer one of service and commitment. Both groups are pictured as self interest people."⁷²

Although this indictment agrees with some research findings, the students' viewpoints may differ. Many students believe that they encountered better teaching in the two-year college than in the four-year institution. The following are typical of comments made by community college transfer students who earned baccalaureate degrees at the University of California in June 1971:

The techniques of instruction are superior at the community college, there seemed to be a lack of technique at the university, but the sophistication and depth of knowledge were superior there.

I never felt at home at the university because of the elitist attitude of the native students. Their arrogant, condescending attitude gave me a feeling of mixed envy and anger. I was comfortable at _____ College and would have stayed there four years if it had been a four-year school. Both faculty and students were much more friendly and helpful.

as an indication of community interest, "political extremists" were not chosen. Administrators tend to suspect the Ph D holder as too research oriented for teaching in the two year college, possession of a master's degree is considered sufficient. Administrators say they are making a conscious effort to hire more blacks and browns.⁸⁴

Why do people teach at community colleges? Faculty members can be classified into four groups end-of-the-roaders, ladder climbers, job holders, and defined purpose routers.⁸⁵ The end-of-the-roaders come to the two year college as a permanent home, perhaps from high school, university, or directly from graduate school. Many high school teachers imagine college teaching to be the pinnacle, university teachers may come because they failed to secure tenure at four year institutions, graduate students may settle for the two year college because they cannot complete the Ph D. These teachers may be excellent, fair or poor.

Ladder climbers see the two year school as a stopping off point on their journey to other types of organizations in higher education or in industry. They may or may not devote their energies to their junior college career while in the institution, but they hold themselves apart from teachers who expect to remain permanently in the community college. Many ladder climbers work on doctorates while teaching at the community college, hoping that the degree will aid their climbing. Although they see the two year assignment as temporary, it may last for years.

Jobholders are devoted primarily to a field other than teaching. They may be artists who teach for a living but their basic interest is in furthering their artistic careers outside the school. The jobholder may be an excellent teacher, completely absorbed in his work while at school, but he does not see teaching as an opportunity for furthering himself or his discipline.

The defined purpose routers are closest to what one would hope teachers might be. Teaching gives them personal gratification. They find in teaching a reason for being and have dedicated themselves to the integration of self and the meeting of their goals. They are involved in the subject matter and can define it in terms of specific objectives.

Apparently the defined purpose routers are a minority, for many community college authorities doubt that teachers are committed to the declared purposes of the community college. These doubts are supported by research findings. For example a study of California community colleges found that the faculty had positive orientations toward themselves but negative orientations toward the college. This was a very clear and common pattern. It is even more striking when we realize that these colleges represented diverse situations — urban, suburban and rural — that more than half of the teachers had attended a community college themselves, and that most of them had taught in high school.⁸⁶

Competition for California community college openings, roughly half the nation's total, was so intense in the early 1970s that many colleges refused to list vacancies with placement offices for common subjects such as English, history, art, and foreign languages because these schools were not equipped to process a thousand applications for one position.⁷⁷ In contrast, teacher shortages existed in nursing, women's physical education, vocational technical areas, and reading. The types of people desired by the colleges included racial minority candidates, young women counselors, "straight" psychology instructors who are not clinical, young male librarians, and football coaches who can win games.⁷⁸

No nationwide data are readily available on minority ethnic group faculty members, but the general impression among community college spokesmen is that there are relatively few of them. For example, in one California city district less than 3 percent of the instructors are blacks. There are many blacks in the lower nonteaching positions, ranging from custodians to secretaries, but very few in executive positions.⁷⁹

Women are another underrepresented group on community college faculties. For example, a survey of sixteen college faculties indicated that 29 percent are women.

A common complaint made by administrators, and particularly counselors in the community colleges has been that there were not enough women on the faculty to insure a woman student an opportunity to "talk things over" with another woman. In the small rural college there seemed to be some validity for this complaint. One dean reported that there were only 14 percent of the faculty who were women and they "added women to the faculty as they needed them."⁸⁰

Urban colleges may come closer to a balance between the sexes. For example, Los Angeles City Junior College District reported 56 percent men and 44 percent women among new instructors in 1970.⁸¹ Perusal of California community college catalogs for 1970-1971 revealed that nursing instruction employed the largest number of women. 20 percent of all women faculty members were teaching courses in nursing. Second ranking was shared by business subjects and English, with 11 percent each. Physical education, home economics, counseling, library, and administration followed in that order. The rest of the women were scattered through twenty-seven other fields.⁸²

A major West Coast university placement service summarized characteristics of all teachers hired through it during 1967-1970: male, age 27-40, four to seven years of experience in or out of education, married, with children, and roots in community.⁸³ Other studies indicate that unmarried older males were carefully screened, and there was a tendency to favor instructors with families. Evidence of religious activity was construed

General administration consumes 38 percent of the president's time. This includes meeting with administrative staff and faculty, supervising buildings and grounds, making decisions, correspondence, and routine office work. Meetings with the governing board, individually and as a group, take up another 15 percent of his time. An additional 14 percent goes to coordination with other educational institutions. Public relations requires 10 percent and state and national educational organizations 8 percent. Other activities include hiring faculty, coordinating with other community programs and organizations, fund-raising, relations with state agencies, and student programs and problems.⁹¹

The president typically delegates the supervision of teaching to the academic dean, who spends little time on management problems. A college business manager has responsibility for supporting the organization's program. Deans of student affairs, vocational education, and community services or their equivalents are ordinarily included in the administrative structure. This is the pattern in colleges controlled by autonomous local or state boards. Other colleges remain under control of a kindergarten through grade-14 school district, and the college administration is subordinate to the district superintendent. However, this type of organization is fast disappearing.

Community college presidents are in danger of becoming fully occupied in adjusting themselves to shifting alignments among groups which exert influence on them and on the college.⁹² These groups include the governing board, administrative subordinates, faculty, students, and lay vocational advisory committee members. For example, one president complained that dealing with the faculty is one of the administrator's most difficult tasks.⁹³ The president

must understand the inherent educational conservatism of faculty. One of the many paradoxes in education is that faculty tend to be educational conservatives and social and political liberals while administrators lean toward educational liberalism and social and political conservatism. The old quip "it is easier to move a cemetery than change the curriculum" has a great deal of truth.⁹⁴

Although community college presidents have a more comprehensive job than that of administrators at other levels of education, nothing has been done to train them. A president explains that

at present, we continue to use administrator training programs in higher education for community college officers which are based on tradition, knowledge salvaged from the elementary and secondary school principalship, personal experience, on-the-job training and other bits and pieces of administrative know how one stumbles onto. More succinctly, those professors in adminis-

This point brings us to a major problem of the community college there is a gap between what the instructor views his role to be and what his role must be if the community college is to make good on its promise of providing universal educational opportunity Faculty members are ill prepared for the problems created by the open door admission policy, especially in light of the fact that remedial education is rapidly becoming the largest instructional endeavor of the two year college, instructors can no longer avoid the issue⁸⁷

A national study of community colleges found that only half of the teachers preferred to be employed in a community college, the rest would rather teach at a four year college or university Many teachers did not think that community colleges should offer remedial courses or training for skilled and semiskilled jobs As a rule, counselors and administrators were more tolerant of these low prestige courses, and believed, with some validity, that many teachers of academic subjects want to turn community colleges into four year institutions⁸⁸

A vice-chancellor has predicted that California community colleges will become more oriented toward lower division transfer work and that a "battle" will be required to keep the vocational technical program on the same campus This same administrator expects the establishment of separate institutions like Los Angeles Trade and Technical College, which offers more than a hundred technical and vocational occupational curricula Instructional deans and personnel directors have expressed "similar frustrations in trying to get a diverse faculty to work together"⁸⁹

Administrators

Much of the decision making power within the community college is delegated to the administrator What are the requirements of this important role, and what are the characteristics of people who hold these jobs? These are the two topics to be discussed next

THE ADMINISTRATOR'S ROLE

As the community college has assumed an ever increasing share of post-secondary education since World War II, the role of the president has changed, leading to a problem of role definition

What formerly was a job as the principal of a preparatory program has become a role as educational leader, as community leader, and as the executive of a complex enterprise with many facets of management relating to personnel program, plant, finance, and public relations⁹⁰

Community college presidents allot their time in the following way

satisfaction with their jobs, and 66 percent said that they regard their posts as steppingstones toward a presidency.⁹⁹

The community college president is typically a male in his forties, holds an M.A. in an academic discipline and a doctorate in higher education or administration, and is a former two year college teacher. He has usually worked his way up through department or division chairmanships to the instructional dean's position before becoming president. Recently he may have served as dean of students instead of academic dean.¹⁰⁰ When we say *he* we emphasize the fact that very few women become community college chief executives. The 1971 *Junior College Directory* shows only five presidents with feminine names. The academic dean, second in command, is also a man in 99 percent of the cases. A survey of California community college catalogs revealed only a small proportion of women in any administrative posts, and, of these, nine out of ten were assistant or associate deans, generally charged with student activities, only one out of ten women listed as administrators had the title of dean.¹⁰¹

A similar situation exists for racial minorities. For example, Lombardi charges that "a few blacks who hold positions of power, influence, and prestige are considered tokens to the concept of equal opportunity employment practice."¹⁰² In 1969, California had only one black president in eighty two community colleges. In 1971 a black woman became president of Los Angeles Southwest College. She is thought to be the only black woman president among the nation's 1,200 public and private two-year colleges.¹⁰³ The proportion of black instructors is low and the proportion of black administrators is even lower. For instance one California urban district has only one black among seventy administrators.

Typical Response

The characteristics of the college and its personnel predispose it to act conservatively. Without long established traditions, without a distinctive student body, and without generally recognized *high status objectives*, the community college lacks a prestigious identity and is hesitant to adopt radically new procedures which might further jeopardize its already uncertain status. Instead, it usually seeks protection in being like neighboring schools, justifying its actions on the grounds that everyone else is doing the same.

CURRICULUM

The community colleges' cautious stance is evident both in curriculum and in community services. The usual steps in designing a community college curriculum have been described as the *scissors and paste ap-*

trator-training institutions are satisfied to proceed on the basis of the experience of the past rather than the needs of the present and future⁹⁵

Although some specialized university programs for preparing junior college leaders have been developed, most junior college administrators still come up through the ranks and receive training only through apprenticeship to older administrators, along with whatever they can glean from occasional workshops or conferences⁹⁶

The president's position is especially hazardous because the college assumes some of the functions of both the university and the elementary and secondary schools This forces the president

to become principal and president, academician and manager, supervisor and politician, thinker and fighter without the options, traditions, defined role, and laws of the principal or the prestige, options, insulation, tradition, and acceptance of the university president⁹⁷

In relations with the board of control, the president may find it difficult to draw a clear line between his/her administrative responsibilities and the board functions This conflict is especially likely when board members have close relationships with community members, in such cases the board may become involved in questions of admission of students, faculty recruitment and selection, and course content — issues that are supposedly the president's responsibility.

It is easy for the administrator to fail to lead the institution into true collegiate status because few people in a community know at first what to expect of a new community college Consequently, the president may allow the community to expect very little and to get very little in the way of a collegiate institution with its own integrity and identity and intellectual muscle Secondary schools have had a strong impact on community colleges, and in this respect it has been a negative influence Although some of the best community college teachers previously taught in public high schools, we do not expect from a high school the same kind of stimulating effect on the community that we expect from a college To the degree that presidents allow their colleges to become more like typical conservative high schools than four-year liberal arts colleges or universities in their effect upon the community, they have failed to make the colleges all they really should be⁹⁸

ADMINISTRATORS' CHARACTERISTICS

Most deans have taught both in secondary schools and two-year colleges Their mean age is 45, and two-thirds have had military experience The majority are new, having held their positions from one to three years In 1970, their salaries ranged from a low of \$8,400 to a high of \$26,000, and the mean was \$17,206 Ninety two percent of the deans expressed

ment for graduation with an associate degree It is a reasonably demanding course Yet I have not been able to convince the University of Massachusetts to give transfer credit for it This is one example of why innovation is tough¹⁰⁶

Resistance to change also comes from within the community college Community college personnel believe the following are the most important determinants of curriculum in the order listed¹⁰⁷

- 1 The administration
- 2 The faculty
- 3 The students
- 4 Accrediting agencies
- 5 Four year colleges and universities
- 6 The state department of education
- 7 The board of control
- 8 Two year colleges and their faculties
- 9 State government and agencies
- 10 Advisory boards and committees

The relative importance of these factors is judged differently by different groups within the college but all groups rank community organizations and individuals far down the list, an interesting phenomenon when we remember that the two year college is supposedly a community centered institution

This fact suggests that the blame for inadequate obsolete curricula should not be placed entirely on the public While conservative or apathetic elements outside the college do have some influence, much of the resistance to change comes from within the college itself In fact, some observers contend that faculty resistance is the greatest barrier to curriculum change For example, a New York City College professor said

There's been no radical revision of the curriculum in forty or fifty years The departments ought to agree to greater development of interdisciplinary courses But before any department gives up any course you have virtually a civil war in the curriculum committee¹⁰⁸

COMMUNITY SERVICES

A similar situation exists with respect to community services Supposedly, "community services is revolutionary in its irreverence for traditional forms"¹⁰⁹ In fact, however, it has not worked this way Traditional forms (such as degrees, credits semesters quarters and grades) continue to be prominent, even though they may be irrelevant to most of the people served

proach New colleges simply copy objectives and programs of neighboring colleges, and fail to consider community needs or improved educational processes discussed in research findings The American Junior College Association's executive director said

Community colleges have tended to stay well within the boundaries of current educational practice and procedure Frequently described as flexible, dynamic, new, and responsive, the community college does not often actually fit that description¹⁰⁴

Some of the barriers to change lie outside the college The president of Staten Island Community College said

The curricula of the so called "comprehensive" two-year colleges reflect conservative expectations and external pressures The terminal career programs embody — quite imperfectly — the expectations of industrial and technological employers The liberal arts transfer programs embody — also unsatisfactorily — the demands and values of the faculties in the four-year colleges¹⁰⁵

The community college is limited to some degree by the general expectations of the public These expectations are usually vague and rather traditional, reflecting the average citizen's lack of detailed knowledge about the community college and its capabilities

Employers have more definite ideas concerning what the college should offer, particularly in vocational and technical training Here the community college is hampered by the high cost of keeping equipment up-to-date It is simply too expensive for most colleges continually to replace machines that become obsolete after a couple of years

Four-year colleges also discourage major changes in the community college Community colleges believe, with good reason, that they must follow the lower-division course patterns specified by four year institutions, otherwise, transferring students may lose credit for courses that do not meet the senior institutions' requirements A president tells about problems with an experimental course

We have a kind of innovation a class which I give for all freshmen I devote the first semester to "The Arts" and the second to "Public Affairs" We have concerts, Shakespearean performances, poetry readings, discussions, and lectures, some are by me, some by people I bring in The freshmen write several themes about the sessions These are graded by their English composition teachers The course gives all the freshmen a common intellectual experience . . .

During the second semester they are responsible for the contents of the front page and the editorials in our excellent local paper and are examined on the contents The course provides one credit for each semester and is a require-

express itself indirectly, in resistance to innovation in other areas, and may add to the general level of tension within the college

Conclusions

The community college has been heralded as innovative, but it has actually been quite conservative. Community expectations, limited funds, university credit requirements, faculty attitudes—all have restricted the community college's freedom to experiment with radically new approaches to education.

Because the community college was willing (though not necessarily eager) to accept responsibilities that other colleges and universities did not want, it grew rapidly and has become an established part of American higher education. And yet, the community college—or at least its faculty—is discontent. Like the gangster who prospered by providing services unavailable elsewhere, the community college yearns for higher status. It cannot boast about all its diverse activities because some of these are held in low repute. Yet many faculty members would prefer the community college to be more like a university, and they resent its present identity.

Perhaps this discontent explains, at least in part, the community college's poor performance in unprestigious areas like remedial education, and its resistance to innovations which might improve its performance. Why do a job better when you do not like the job in the first place? If, on the other hand, innovation would make the community college more like a university, then the faculty would probably support the change with enthusiasm.

We should not let the faculty's attitude unduly influence our evaluation of the community college. The fact that some instructors are discontented does not necessarily mean that the college is worthless. How do others feel about it?

Opinions differ. They range from the opinion that the junior college is the greatest American educational invention of the century to Birenbaum's criticism:

Far from upsetting the status quo of American higher education, the junior colleges shore it up. Far from contributing something new and substantial, the two-year colleges strengthen the status quo in a higher educational system desperately in need of reform. There is a danger that the expansion of the two-year colleges along present lines may serve mainly to subvert and postpone urgently needed changes in our higher education.¹¹⁵

Milder appraisals of the community college include Robert Hutchins' comment that, "Its heart is in the right place, its head does not work."

Those who work directly in the community are becoming increasingly sensitive to the shortcomings of their community college in adapting its total program to changing community needs. The need for institutional development or change — i.e., updating administrative staffs, developing more flexible curricula patterns, changing course content — is often evident to those who spend as much time on the streetcorner as in the isolation of an office. And their clientele want action, not promises written on page 1 of the college catalog.¹¹⁰

As with curriculum change, the greatest opposition to expansion of the community service function comes from within the college itself. An instructional dean summarized faculty opposition to unlimited community service offerings when he said, 'Faculty fear that the college's public image will suffer from such community service class titles as 'Taking Care of Your Wig,' 'Beauty Within and Without,' 'Gourmet Cooking for Tots,' and 'Bicycle Care and Maintenance'.'¹¹¹

Other growing resistance to expanding community services arises from the worry that the community college is overextending itself, that it lacks the finances, facilities, and staff to do all that is expected of it.

Nevertheless, the community service offering of the college is growing. Community services were performed in the 1950s, although relatively little emphasis was placed upon them until the end of the 1960s. As late as 1965, only a minority of community colleges claimed community services as a major function.¹¹² In 1968 only 15 percent of the schools employed full time community services directors, but one year later, 46 percent of the public community colleges had such administrators, and 98 percent of the colleges said they offered formal community services programs.¹¹³ Harlacher predicts increasing emphasis because

The community service program gives the community college its flexibility, its adaptability, its capability of providing education in whatever form and at whatever site necessary. By welcoming persons from all strata of the community and from both sides of the generation gap, the skilled and the unskilled, the cultured and the coarse, the educated and the illiterate, the community college enriches the educational panorama and offers enrichment to all of its community.¹¹⁴

This adaptability may be an approach to organizational survival, an attempt to make the college more secure. Expansion of community services, whatever its benefits for students and the public might be, could also help the college to win more friends and more money. Administrators, aware of this possibility, may therefore try to expand the community service program. Although the faculty may not like this policy, they have little voice in it, especially since it involves the hiring of additional administrators rather than actual classroom instruction. Nevertheless, faculty resentment toward expanded community services may

of education. High school students will be bused to the college in numbers expected to reach one thousand during the late 1970s.

If predictions concerning a shorter work week are accurate, the community college is the logical choice for devoting a major effort to education for constructive use of leisure time. But the danger exists that society will expect more from the community college than the institution can produce with the limited financial support available to it.

Notes

- 1 For a discussion of organizational character and identity see Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, Evanston Row, Peterson and Co., 1957.
- 2 Leland L. Medsker and Dale Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers*, New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960, p. 13.
- 3 American Association of Junior Colleges, 1972 *Junior College Directory*, Washington, D.C. 1972, p. 89, and Medsker and Tillery, pp. 17-18.
- 4 1972 *Junior College Directory*, pp. 88-90.
- 5 Medsker and Tillery, p. 17.
- 6 1972 *Junior College Directory*.
- 7 Ibid. p. 91.
- 8 Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., editor, *American Junior Colleges*, Washington, D.C. American Council on Education, 1967 (seventh edition), p. 3.
- 9 The Carnegie Commission on Education, *The Open Door Colleges*, New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970, p. 10.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Clyde E. Blocker, Robert H. Plummer, and Richard C. Richardson, Jr., *The Two-Year College A Social Synthesis*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965, p. 32.
- 12 The Carnegie Commission, p. 9.
- 13 Blocker et al., p. 32.
- 14 Ibid., p. 25.
- 15 Leland L. Medsker, *The Junior College Progress and Prospect*, New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960, pp. 11-12, and the Carnegie Commission, p. 3.
- 16 California Junior College Association news release, August 20, 1971, and the Carnegie Commission, pp. 11-12.
- 17 Medsker and Tillery, pp. 105-106.
- 18 John C. Petersen, "Community Centeredness and Institutional Adaptability Under State and Local Control," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969 and Medsker and Tillery.
- 19 *Calabria College Catalog*, Aptos, California September 1971, pp. 10-11.
- 20 Warren Friedman and Rue Wallace, "The Master Plan Welcome to the Factory," *Junior College Research Review*, 5 no. 9 (May 1971).
- 21 John R. Boggs, *Junior College Institutional Research The State of the*

very well,"¹¹⁶ and an anonymous faculty member observed "A community college is a mother, a university is a father"¹¹⁷ Perhaps the most thoughtful evaluation is that offered by Blocker et al

If the two year college appears new and unique it is because at present it occupies the center of the educational stage holding forth great promise while concealing its weaknesses behind unclear role definition. The four year institution like the classical high school cannot serve the needs of the heterogeneous population that has come to view higher education as a necessity and a birthright. Consequently another institution the two year college, has evolved to meet this need.¹¹⁸

To justify a new institution extravagant claims are sometimes made about all the problems it will solve. Its supporters may even come to believe these claims. Actually, the new institution will not be able to solve all problems but, instead, will eventually concentrate upon a few areas in which it can operate most effectively.

The question for the community college is not how to solve all the problems confronting undergraduate education. Instead, we must decide which areas it can handle most effectively, and we must determine what its specific role should be in the general structure of higher education.¹¹⁹

It is important to have a second chance institution, where adults who did poorly in their previous schooling can have another opportunity to try formal education, where workers dissatisfied with their present jobs can prepare for another occupation and where housewives and senior citizens with time on their hands can broaden their horizons. And, as long as the universities retain their practice of flunking out large numbers of students who are not academically inclined, the community college performs a humane, helpful function by redirecting potential failures into less demanding jobs where they can succeed, maintaining a sense of personal worth and learning a vocation useful to society.

Because a large majority of entering freshmen declare themselves to be transfer students, it is likely that community colleges will continue to emphasize academic programs at the expense of remedial work urgently needed by a significant number of students. Perhaps the major new development in the two-year schools will be a dramatic expansion of vocational and technical programs for cooled out would be transfer students, as well as for adults who need job retraining. California's Cabrillo College will soon open a prototype career education center offering a greatly expanded vocational program to high school as well as college students. This center, to be built on the college campus, will be administered and financed by a joint board that will include trustees from the three public school districts operating high schools, the college, and the county board.

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UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION

IRVING KRAUSS

In this chapter, our main interest is the American college, where the majority of students in higher education are enrolled. On occasion it will be necessary to turn our attention to the university and graduate training, for in many respects undergraduate and graduate institutions have similar problems and potentialities. Although we shall concentrate on the contemporary scene, it will also be useful to look at the historical origins of the interests and activities that formed the present-day American college.

In the discussion we shall develop three basic theses. The main one deals with the effect of societal change on higher education; secondary theses involve conflicting institutional goals and the growing public involvement.

But first, what is a college? It is something that exists in space and time; it is a physical entity and has a location. A variety of individuals spend time there; some for only a few years and others for much longer.

same time, there has been a diminishing call for low-skilled work, including the labor of children and youths. Moreover, the productive age span has been narrowing so that, increasingly, high school graduates who were not destined for manual or low-level white collar jobs are becoming temporarily surplus. In the past they were mostly the offspring of the middle- and upper middle-strata families, and these youngsters began to spend the years between adolescence and adulthood in college. There they obtained the skills which were useful for their careers, they got some culture, and they had fun. However, undergraduate education was taking on a new function, it began to provide society with an acceptable means of "containing" substantial numbers of young people until they were needed in the job market.

These trends have continued and, in recent years, have been affecting lower strata youngsters in the same manner, growing numbers are now in college. While in many ways they are not much different from the middle- and upper middle-strata students, occupational opportunity as an outcome of college education is more critical to them. And thus they find themselves in a dilemma. With the bachelor's degree becoming much more common, it is no longer as valuable for the better jobs, also, there do not seem to be that many good jobs around. Understandably, lower strata students are more likely to view education instrumentally and have less patience for the cultural, liberal arts aspects of college. Their more restricted home background contributes to this attitude. Our basic thesis, then, is that *major societal changes have led to incompatible demands on higher education*.

In all organizations there is usually conflict among some of the goals, and not all members see eye to eye regarding rights and obligations. Also, some of the social, economic, and physical arrangements may hinder rather than facilitate the organization's fulfilling its ostensible purpose. Higher education is no exception, and such difficulties usually mirror what is happening in the larger society. The broad changes are exacerbating internal problems of organization and unclear goals in higher education. Contributing to the difficulties are divergent aims and practices, which are seen by some as part of a proud tradition and by others as things that are outmoded and should have been laid to rest years ago. Our second thesis is that *the American system of higher education is shot through with major contradictions and conflicting goals*.

Changes in the larger society and in the function of higher education have led to greatly increased student enrollment, faculty size, and physical plant, beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, the major expansion occurred during and right after World War II. The changes and the sheer size and costliness of higher education

In a way it is like a hotel people enter, remain a while, and leave, yet the basic physical and social structures remain

The college is a social institution, but more than that, it is a community. It is composed of people who have a purpose in being part of it, there are norms, roles, and statuses, and there are hierarchy and authority. It is a community in a physical sense, but it is also a community in terms of an overriding ideal or strong beliefs which most of its members hold that the college is worthwhile, desirable, and good.¹ While there is diversity in interests and activities, some of which seem to be working at cross purposes with one another, there is enough similarity in the members' expectations so that most of the institutional goals are fulfilled. Students, graduate assistants, professors, administrators, job recruiters, and the campus police may covertly harbor resentment toward one another and sometimes show open hostility. Nevertheless, they co-operate enough so that students are admitted, classes are held, lectures presented, examinations given, and degrees awarded. In addition, the many activities including the frustrations and failures and satisfactions and successes that characterize the college today, are influenced by conditions off campus.

Societal Change, Institutional Goals, and Public Involvement

Higher education, as well as other institutions, arises out of the needs and interests of the larger society as they are defined by individuals and organized groups. As society's needs and interests change, so do its institutions, understandably, the functions of education are quite different in a preindustrial, highly stratified society and in an industrialized society in which there is considerable social mobility. In particular, the changing economic structure has led to important modifications in higher education. Many of its problems are the outcome of divergent needs and interests, and we shall explore the contradictions and conflicts.

Not so long ago the main function of college was to prepare the sons of the elite for the important positions in the society. Others sought higher education for religious and cultural purposes, and a few for job-training, yet the proportion of young people in college was extremely small. Since then, undergraduate education has grown tremendously and has taken on many functions, but the major ones revolve around the labor market.

It is not that higher education simply exists to fulfill the vocational requirements of employers. True, changes in technology and in the organization of business, as well as the growth of service occupations, have increased the need for more highly educated employees. At the

tioning is likely to occur in certain formal teaching situations, not because there is anything magical about them, but because it is here that the instructor and student are removed from the conservative influences of family, friends, and church.

A liberating education, in which students are taught to develop a habit of mind whereby they critically examine ideas and practices and form their own conclusions, is not encouraged for the masses. It is felt that they require only limited training, they do not need liberal education for the mundane occupations to which most devote their lives. Historically, this was not a problem because formal education was not available to the ordinary person. It was not until the Reformation that there was interest in compulsory education and many new schools were founded, in England as well as in Catholic countries. However, the education was not of the liberating kind—the ideal for the poor in the London workhouses of the early 1700s was “to teach catechism, reading, and possibly writing and a little ciphering in the intervals of some industrial occupation.”³ In a highly stratified society this viewpoint is applied not only to the poor but to the rest of the working population.⁴ A more liberating type of education could be politically dangerous and might undermine the discipline of the labor force. Consequently, the mass receives the minimum of schooling consonant with the existing state of economic development.

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN HIGHER EDUCATION

The modern concept of higher education emerged in medieval Western society as part of the revival of learning in the twelfth century. There was a new influx of knowledge into western Europe, largely because of contact with the Middle East as a result of the Crusades. The first universities in the modern sense—that is, in terms of faculties, residential colleges, courses of study, examinations, commencements, and academic degrees—were established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There were no buildings, libraries, boards of trustees, catalogs, or athletics. What constituted a university, in addition to the curricula and other aspects noted above, was “an association of masters and scholars leading the common life of learning.”⁵ The essence of the medieval university was ‘the consecration of learning’.⁶

In 1636, less than two decades after settling in America, English colonists founded Harvard College. Two more colleges were established at the end of the century: William and Mary, and Yale.⁷

Building upon this basic structure, three major influences have shaped the development of American higher education. First, the English ideal of classical, liberal education was oriented toward arts and letters, in-

have brought it into the mainstream of American life Yet the public, which pays the bill and whose sons and daughters attend college, often have expectations which are at odds with those of the educators In addition to such differences, there is a growing interference with major and minor aspects of higher learning that used to be considered the purview of the academicians Hence, our third thesis is that *the growing public involvement in higher education is worsening its organizational problems and intensifying conflict over goals*

All in all then, the difficulties that undergraduate education faces today are basically the result of major societal changes They are also due to contradictions and conflicting goals within the educational system itself, and to the growing involvement of the public Among the difficulties are unrest, discontent and malaise among students, faculty, administrators, alumni, parents, and legislators We shall explore the sources of the contradictions and conflicts in order to understand the current college scene While we offer no panaceas, at the conclusion of this chapter we will make proposals aimed at minimizing some of the problems in undergraduate education today

We have suggested that college has a multitude of purposes To better understand the reasons for this multiplicity and the causes of the present trends, we might properly ask, why higher education?

The Purpose of Higher Education

Education in its broadest sense is the transmission by the older to the younger generation of the culture and the practices needed for sustenance Education is an important part of the socialization process and may occur informally — while on the hunt, at play, or by helping mother or father It may take place in a formal setting — in a church, temple, factory, or school In any event, the tendency is to perpetuate things as they are, thus, by its nature, education tends to support the status quo It does so in terms of continuing the existing language, literature, customs, mores, and ways of thinking and making a living It further perpetuates the status quo by instilling in the population the idea of accepting the existing institutional arrangements²

But education is also potentially subversive, especially education which goes beyond training in skills and ritual practices When present or past phenomena are examined with the idea of determining principles, causes, and probable consequences, there is the dangerous possibility that the investigator may see contradictions between what ought to be and what is, raise embarrassing questions, and suggest innovations which go counter to the official dogma and the conventional wisdom This ques-

cation, but it was reciprocal. Beginning with the Great Depression of the thirties, academicians began to take government positions in increasing numbers, and others served as consultants. Academicians also consulted with state and local government as well as with industry. Federal involvement increased tremendously during World War II, when many educational facilities were used to train military personnel, a move which saved the institutions from bankruptcy. In addition, many physicists, behavioral scientists, and others contributed their talent to government projects, such as the development of the atomic bomb, or to the armed forces, through survey and intelligence work.¹⁴

The government also financed the education of war veterans. The Servicemen's Readjustment Law of 1944—the "G I Bill"—and benefits for veterans of the Korean War provided assistance for some 35 million students, a good portion of whom would not have gone to college otherwise. Since 1958 government has provided funds for construction, equipment, libraries, student loans, and scholarship programs.¹⁵

But the deepest involvement has been through research and related support. During the nineteenth century the government had its own laboratories and institutions, however, since World War II most research has been transferred to the universities, and this shift has significantly altered the nature of higher education. Federal funds have become a major factor in the total performance of many institutions of higher learning, and the amount of money is substantial. In 1974 federal grants amounted to 5.94 billion dollars, more than half for research, research facilities, equipment, and fellowships.¹⁶

In the past, government studies were primarily "mission directed" and of an immediately practical nature, and this is still the case. A major part of the grants are for applied projects, furthermore, most research funds are for defense purposes.¹⁷ The applied emphasis and the desire for immediate results were furthered by philanthropic foundations, beginning in the 1940s and the 1950s. The Carnegie and Ford Foundations in particular put a great deal of money into the social sciences in an attempt to cure the ills of society. Earlier, government support for other aspects of education had been for vocational and professional training and not for the liberal arts, and the same is true today.

Overall, federal funding helped expand higher education, it provided more opportunities for students and faculty, it improved facilities, and furthered research. However, the grants were concentrated in the prestigious schools, and federal support widened the gap between the sciences and the other disciplines. The grants encouraged professors to identify with their profession rather than with their institutions, created disparity in salaries, and increased the division between graduate and

undergraduate programs In addition, the secrecy demanded for defense-related research runs counter to scholarly practice Another undesirable aspect is the lack of any comprehensive policy regarding the financing of higher education¹⁸

CONFLICTING THEMES

These more recent developments add to the contradictions in American higher education The organization of the college, the nature of the student body, and the often conflicting interests of teachers, researchers, and students contribute Yet underlying them are the pervasive influences of Oxford, Berlin, and home grown vocationalism-practicality Clark Kerr comments that

[a] university anywhere can aim no higher than to be as British as possible for the undergraduates, as German as possible for the sake of the graduates and the research personnel, as American as possible for the sake of the public at large—and as confused as possible for the sake of the preservation of the whole uneasy balance¹⁹

Rapid expansion during the 1950s and 1960s helped in the "preservation of the whole uneasy balance" However, at present the growth is slowing down, and there is a financial crisis resulting from federal cutbacks and the increasing reluctance of states to support their institutions Additional factors, although minor ones, are the recent drop in college enrollment because of decline in the college age population and the ending of the draft But even with the reductions in finances and enrollment, higher education remains a mammoth enterprise with many additional difficulties Before examining the problems and the conditions responsible for them, and the possible solutions, let us first see what the contemporary college and the students are like

Today's Colleges and Collegiates

There is a wide range, but aside from the small church-controlled or other special purpose colleges, private and public institutions have become increasingly alike, especially since World War II This similarity has been due primarily to the general increase in college applicants and to federal funds, which have gone to private as well as to public institutions Both accept the norms of the academic profession regarding course offerings and how they should be taught, overall the objectives of private and public colleges are increasingly similar Private schools have taken the lead in raising admission standards, and public institutions have moved in the same direction By the 1950s and 1960s most public institutions were no longer admitting everyone with a high school

diploma, only to flunk out much of the freshman class within the first year²⁰

Yet the private institution has higher admission standards, it is more likely to emphasize the liberal arts for undergraduates, to prepare them for the more genteel occupations and the professions, and to send a much higher proportion to graduate school. On the other hand, the public institution is much more concerned with placement in general, expecting that the vast majority of students will enter the job market upon receiving their degrees. The students also differ, with those from the more affluent families entering private rather than public colleges. The exceptions are the less prestigious, very small private colleges, which are not very selective; their students are similar to those who attend public institutions.²¹

THE ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE COLLEGE

The typical four-year college is organized basically around departments of art, chemistry, history, mathematics, physics, sociology, and so on. If the college is part of a university, the departments are usually grouped administratively and labeled "The College of Liberal Arts" or "The College of Arts and Sciences." Usually this college is the largest in the university. There are also likely to be professional schools offering undergraduate as well as graduate work.²²

The vast majority of American college students will obtain most of their education in a college of liberal arts or in a professional school, principally education or business. Also, the courses that are offered are the responsibility of the various departments in the colleges and schools.

THE DEPARTMENT As a result of the growing discipline orientation, which reflected the German influence and the rise of the university, college faculties split into departments. Today the professor's interest and loyalty are given primarily to his department and only secondarily to the institution. This development is understandable, for it is the department which is primarily responsible for devising courses as well as staffing and scheduling them. The department also recruits personnel and decides on permanent retention (tenure) or dismissal. It also has the main responsibility for the faculty member's promotion and salary increases.

Strains are engendered by these responsibilities, especially those of promotion and salary. In addition to these stresses, others arise out of a number of differences among the members of the same department. For example, not only do the teachers and the researchers disagree but they form factions, as do the Young Turks and the Elder Statesmen, the generalists and the specialists, the liberals and the conservatives, the

pro and the antiadministration people, and the humanistic and the scientific To these factors may be added differences in personality and in approach to subject matter, and differences over funds, office and class assignments, and the time schedule ²³

The nature of the department varies greatly, ranging from extremely authoritarian to very democratic, and the most important determinant is usually the departmental chairperson Although there are some who provide leadership, by and large the chairperson's time is taken up with administrative tasks In the institutional chain of command the chairperson is between the higher administration and the faculty, in essence the chairperson acts as a supervisor, on the one hand representing management to the workers, and on the other the workers to management And, as in industry, many stresses are a part of this mediating position ²⁴

Up to the 1950s such a position was an honored one and involved relatively little administration Today there is much more to administer and the chairperson has less and less time or inclination to be a scholar, often it is difficult to find a person with repute who is willing to take the position ²⁵

In any event, it is the faculty which does the teaching, research, and other things that result in colleges being established, alumni and legislators giving money, and students enrolling Therefore, it is appropriate to mention the structure of ranks and some related matters

RANK The ranks constitute a rigid hierarchy of professor, associate professor, assistant professor, and instructor The first two usually have tenure, a guarantee against dismissal except for academic malfeasance, moral turpitude, or the elimination of positions because of budget cuts Some privileges, such as higher salaries, are associated with rank The department's recommendation is usually the major factor in awarding promotion or tenure If the recommendation is supported by the various faculty and administration committees, the president and the governing board give their approval, which is almost always pro forma Interference with regularized practices and academic freedom by the president or trustees used to be much greater in the past, but today it occurs mostly in the small, provincial, and denominational colleges However, there are important exceptions involving institutions, such as the University of California, Rutgers, and the University of Hawaii, where leftist professors have been dismissed ²⁶

Because of the nature of the academic enterprise there are no absolute criteria for promotion or tenure, and these decisions often create bitterness, frustration, and envy Very little attention is paid to com-

munity service, and some consideration is given to teaching, however, the most important criterion is research. This favoring of research creates dissension, particularly among the teaching-oriented faculty. There is another problem involving the faculty, more directly related to the teaching of freshmen and sophomores—the staffing of introductory courses.

The major difficulty is that lower-division courses are staffed by the departments, and the instructor's immediate loyalty is to his department and discipline rather than to the ideal of a liberal or general education. Introductory courses are usually large, impersonal, and surfeited by audiovisual aids, and students are evaluated by machine-graded multiple-choice tests. Yet they are very profitable to the college and to the department. From the perspective of the college, the overhead and instructional costs per student are extremely low and offset the smaller and thus more expensive upper division (and where the college is part of a university, graduate courses). The department uses these large courses as an argument for hiring more staff, who are usually desired for the upper-division and graduate offerings. More teaching assistants are hired, and there are other benefits to the department. Students are usually critical of these large classes, although their criticism is not always justified.

Lower-division students are likely to be taught by instructors who have not completed their Ph.D. dissertations (the "ABD"—all but the dissertation) or by a teaching assistant. Departments and colleges like to hire ABDs because they are inexpensive, can be assigned the large introductory courses, and are expendable. Conflicting demands, such as course preparation and work on the dissertation, mean that the students are sometimes shortchanged.

Although the ABD instructors are on the lowest rung of the ladder in regard to the regular faculty, there is a person who ranks still lower—the teaching assistant. He/she is not regarded as faculty yet is extremely important for the lower-division students. Where a campus has a graduate school, the teaching assistants, who are working on advanced degrees, are often responsible for a good portion of undergraduate instruction. Although usually adequately qualified and conscientious, they are often resented by undergraduates who feel they are being cheated because they are not being taught by a full-fledged professor. The TA is also a source of cheap labor, and this is the way big institutions have been able to handle the large number of undergraduates. The main problem is in the large universities, both public and private, where from a quarter to more than half of all lower division instruction is done by TAs.²⁷

Having considered the department and the faculty, we turn next to administration and look first at the president

THE ADMINISTRATION In the past the success of great institutions of higher learning was associated with outstanding and dynamic presidents who often did not hesitate to browbeat recalcitrant faculty, trustees, or legislators in order to achieve their goals. Among these personages were Eliot of Harvard, Gilman of Johns Hopkins, White of Cornell, Angell of Michigan, Butler of Columbia and Harper and Hutchins of Chicago. They were critical strong forces in building up their institutions and in giving direction and purpose to them. But today there are no longer such giants, because structural conditions preclude them. With the growth in size, the performance of innumerable tasks within the institution, and the many services for groups outside the college, the position calls for someone who can successfully head a corporate bureaucracy rather than provide educational leadership.²⁸

In most colleges today, the president is to a large extent a figurehead, the task of educational direction is delegated to a provost or vice president and student policy is in the hands of a dean. Among the president's major tasks are public relations, representing gown to town, raising money and placating alumni and legislators. In the large institution the president's primary function as Kerr sees it is to act as a mediator among the many groups which constitute the multiversity.²⁹

The administrative bureaucracy, in addition to the higher ups of president, vice presidents, chancellor, and provost, includes deans of the various colleges and schools, there are also phalanxes of assistant deans and hordes of clerks. Most faculty members treat administrators with benign neglect, and some disparage their function. I recall many years ago Professor Joel Hildebrand of the University of California at Berkeley, when addressing the annual banquet meeting of a teachers' union, likened administration to the janitorial service. He was met afterwards by a delegation from the janitors at that restaurant. They felt they had been insulted.

Let the growth in size and in the number of institutions and large scale research projects make the administrative end important in today's college, regardless of how faculty or students feel about it. Woodring holds that it is not feasible for an individual in the contemporary college to be both a faculty member and administrator because the time demands preclude the dual function. He points out that teachers who become involved in the running of the college themselves become administrators. As for students, they are ill equipped to participate in administration they lack the necessary knowledge, experience, and long range commitment. Moreover, under student administration there would

probably be chaos.³⁰ This supposition does not mean, of course, that students cannot provide valuable advice and recommendations regarding those areas which directly affect them.

FACULTY POWER AND ADMINISTRATION POWER Administration is growing in importance because of the size of the present day college, but it is declining in power during a period when the faculty has been gaining power. Even though, in a legal and formal sense, the administration has the authority, it is being diminished by demands for increased faculty self-government and academic freedom.³¹ The trend has been furthered by greater faculty independence, beginning with the shortage of college teachers following World War II. Large amounts of extramural funds for research have also increased faculty power. As higher education became more involved in such projects, faculty members who were adept at obtaining large grants looked more and more to government agencies and private foundations for professional and economic opportunities. Departments and institutions usually hold such academic entrepreneurs in high esteem and reward them well. They attract money for overhead costs, which the foundation or agency gives directly to the institution, and funds for equipment, additional faculty, research assistants, and clerical help. These academic entrepreneurs become centers of power that challenge the traditional authority of the department and of the administration.³²

While faculty power has increased, its growth has been uneven and in certain areas the faculty has little influence particularly in regard to salaries when a seller's market shifts to a buyer's market or when they do not keep up with the cost of living. While salaries are much higher than they were a number of years ago, the increases came about because of favorable market conditions and were achieved through individual bargaining and not through collective action. With the current buyer's market, faculty power in an economic sense will depend on the extent to which professors are willing to bargain collectively. However, faculties are being assailed in ways other than strictly economic. In recent years attacks from outside the college seem to have become bolder and more frequent, and in a number of places public officials are openly interfering in college affairs. This interference has included seeking the dismissal of controversial faculty members, severely cutting back the budget and attempting to mandate minimum teaching loads and to do away with tenure and sabbatical leaves.³³ It remains to be seen how faculties will stand up against these assaults.

In addition to the above factors growth in the size and impersonality of educational institutions, increased support for the democratization of power (a worldwide phenomenon), and larger numbers of younger

faculty have furthered acceptance of the legitimacy of collective action. There is also greater militancy by the faculty and by the American Association of University Professors, the college affiliates of the National Educational Association, and the American Federation of Teachers. All are seeking collective bargaining agreements which include negotiations over such matters as wages and working conditions, as well as the establishment of grievance procedures. With organization, the trade unions' ultimate weapon — the strike — is more likely should negotiations fail, and work stoppages have already occurred.³⁴

FINANCES, SELECTIVITY, AND CONTROL

Adequate financing is a growing problem for both private and public institutions. In this current period of recession, inflation, and reduced funding for education, both are short of money, but the private schools are having greater difficulty.³⁵ To meet the problem both public and private institutions, but particularly the latter, are raising tuition.

In the past the private college spent more per student than did the public but public expenditures have caught up. During 1919–1920 private institutions spent nearly 70 percent more for each student, but by 1949–1950 each was spending the same amount.³⁶ Unable to compete because of more limited resources, the private institutions responded by reducing enrollment. In the past they had enrolled the bulk of the college population, and in 1950 still had half of all college students. By 1964 only 36 percent were in private schools, and it is estimated that by 1980 the proportion will be only 20 percent. The enrollment was cut back by raising tuition and standards. Whereas for nearly thirty years private tuition was between two and three times as much as public, by 1964–1965 it had risen to four times as much. As of 1975 these tuition differences continued. The average tuition in a public four year university was \$648 for the academic year, while in the private institution it was \$2,606, if room and board are added the respective costs were \$1,868 and \$4,032.³⁷

The purpose and result of these changes were to attract the intellectual and financial elite. Only the most able applicants and those from well off families were eligible for the private colleges, especially the more prestigious ones. While the private schools make some scholarships available to the smart but poor, the less able of all backgrounds and the children of many middle and most lower middle class and blue-collar families go to the public institutions. Furthermore, when the most able are given the choice, with expense not being a factor, they overwhelmingly choose private schools. Thus in 1963–1964 two-thirds of the National Merit Scholarship winners chose private institutions.³⁸

Since children from affluent backgrounds attend better elementary and secondary schools and have more favorable cultural conditions at home, on the average the most qualified applicants are from those families who can afford the high cost of a prestigious college. The relatively small proportion of very able high school graduates in public colleges has unfavorable consequences for the teaching staff, the student body, and the student culture. These are major reasons why the more selective private colleges provide a better education than do the public ones, even when the quality of the faculty, the courses, and the library is equal.

While the more prestigious private institutions have money problems, the small nonselective private colleges are in a state of financial crisis. With rising costs, limited enrollment, and tiny endowments, they are becoming more dependent on tuition. But the more they raise it, the less they are able to compete with the public schools. Currently the very survival of these little known colleges is at stake.³⁹

For the vast majority of young people, college means attending a public institution, and we shall go into a little more detail on the problem of finances and control.

In the past, populist politicians used to denounce the state universities as country clubs for the rich, at the expense of the poor worker. The major support for these institutions came from the middle class parents whose children attended them and from small businesspeople and corporation executives who needed the finished product. Today, support is more widespread and includes many blue collar families who have college aspirations for their children, although many of these persons, and their representatives in the legislature, tend to favor the state and the commuter colleges. For one thing, they see the state university as a godless Anglo Saxon institution. For another, they see it as a den of sexual immorality, marihuana smoking, and leftist radicalism.⁴⁰

Since the legislators appropriate funds for public higher education, it cannot be completely removed from political differences and control. The Democrats generally spend more for public needs than the Republicans, and, especially since more blue collar families are now realizing the importance of the college degree, Democrats are much more likely to support higher education. However, Republicans are also supportive, for there are benefits for the middle class. Among these Republicans are successful lawyers and businesspeople who are alumni of public institutions⁴¹ usually a prestigious state university. The situation in Oregon is repeated in many states: the major institution is handsomely supported, relative to the funding of the commuter institutions. Yet the latter, being in large metropolitan areas, usually serve many more stu-

dents Also the student body usually comes from the lower middle-class and blue collar homes, whereas the major state university draws mainly from the middle and upper middle class families ⁴²

The amount of control and influence exercised over public colleges by outside groups varies according to the type of institution and the particular state. In the case of municipal colleges, control is in the hands of a city connected board of trustees, and they reflect local city interests. On the other hand state colleges and universities are governed by statewide boards and reflect statewide interests ⁴³. However, the degree of dependency varies from state to state according to political structure and tradition.

While the state colleges and universities are supposed to represent statewide interests local interests are never completely absent. The need to obtain money from the legislature each year affects the character of the college. One of the results is service mindedness, to which public institutions are prone which leads to establishing courses and curricula for local interests ⁴⁴.

Some educators strongly believe that higher education should provide services for those groups in the society that need them, a concept which was bitterly denounced by Veblen. He likened such institutions to service stations ⁴⁵.

THE SERVICE STATION TEMPTATION

While some faculty members are against the service station concept, there is a great temptation to go along with it because of the anticipated funds, buildings, laboratories, or other resources that service activities bring to the campus. Examples of such programs are agricultural research for California's winegrowers and hotel management for Hawaii's tourist industry. Thus, even without direct interference, the public colleges respond to outside pressures. For the most part, however, the public institutions, especially the larger ones, have been able to accommodate to such interests without significantly affecting the nature and quality of their overall programs. The danger is that nonscholarly activities will increase to the point where the main purpose of the college, education—that is, seeking knowledge for its own sake and bringing it to undergraduates through the teaching research of the faculty—is lost sight of. If higher education, through political expedience or misguided altruism, devotes itself any more than it already has to direct service to interest groups, then its whole character will radically change. Though higher education has always been of service to the community, the service has been indirect. Nisbet has pointed out that the agricultural experiment station which provided direct service to farmers was physi-

cally and administratively separate from departments of agricultural science. The experiment stations mediated the results of scholarly activities that faculty members engaged in primarily in the quest for knowledge for its own sake. Furthermore, he observes, the academic temperament is ill-suited for direct or practical action, be it how to wean pigs, eradicate slums, or end a crime wave.⁴⁶

As the college increasingly reaches out to directly service any and all groups that seek its assistance, it becomes more and more public. In the past, its mystique and avowed purpose provided little legitimacy for public intrusion; its esoteric activities kept it at a distance, and its small size shielded it from public view. But today higher education is in the public eye. Although to some extent the politicization of the college is responsible, the main causes have been the large-scale research sponsored by outside agencies, with the resulting academic entrepreneurs⁴⁷ and the changing undergraduate clientele. This latter problem will be examined in the concluding part of the chapter.

Whether for better or for worse, the college is no longer a cloistered ivory tower. Its involvement in contemporary affairs and in servicing the society has been at least a mixed blessing. On the debit side, higher education is much more open to public scrutiny and criticism—as it should be; however, it is also much more open to attack by anti-intellectuals and others who would just as soon destroy it.

CUDGEONS AGAINST THE COLLEGE

In recent years the number of attacks on higher education has increased, as has their ferocity. These assaults are attempts at control and influence, although simple budget-cutting is also involved. But they also mirror the disillusionment and disgust of a substantial portion of the population with the campus disturbances that began in 1964.⁴⁸ There is public indignation not only because of the physical violence and destruction but also because of the public's belief that drug usage and sexual immorality are widespread, that professors spend insufficient time in classroom instruction, and that higher education is subverting sacred traditions and the common wisdom. In California, Governor Ronald Reagan and his supporters capitalized on these feelings and effectively used them to increase control. In a number of places, as in California, there have been attempts to regulate by law the teaching duties of faculty members. For example, legislators have tried to require that a minimum number of hours be spent in the classroom. The salaries of those teaching fewer hours would be reduced proportionately, and the amount of time called for ranges from ten hours a week in Illinois to fifteen in New York.⁴⁹

Attacks on higher education have also come from the students. However, activism is nothing new, students have always been among the first to experience discontent engendered by social change and to articulate their feelings.⁵⁰ Activism is facilitated by the larger size of colleges and their changed institutional arrangements, which have encouraged students' organized activities, including protests. While activism earlier challenged many institutional goals and practices in recent years it has often been opposed to the very idea of a university and the detached search for knowledge.⁵¹ Activism is related to student solidarity. Let us look at some of the formal and informal mechanisms which help students to develop a sense of group identity.

IMPERSONALITY, ORGANIZED GROUPS, AND THE STREET CULTURE

Increased institutional size leads to impersonality, segmental relationships, and formal rules, procedures, and controls. With 20,000 or more students at a given school, bureaucratization—with its "do not fold, bend, mutilate, or spindle" IBM cards, numbering of students, and so on—seems inevitable.

In the past, colleges acted *in loco parentis* and were responsible for the spiritual, moral, and physical welfare of their charges, as well as the intellectual. The Oxford influence led to residential colleges which provided a physical as well as a social sense of belonging. Sororities and fraternities, religious and other ethnically based organizations and sometimes political clubs, offered more personal associations. Sororities and fraternities, blatantly discriminatory against Jews, blacks, and others in the past,⁵² are less so today and provide living arrangements and meaningful associations for a small portion of college students. They also ensure social class endogamy by encouraging friendship, courtship, and marriage between persons of similar social and economic background.⁵³

Sororities and fraternities were the most important organized campus groups prior to World War II. The "Big Men on Campus," the athletes and the student body officers, were almost always fraternity members. The importance of these Greek letter organizations has diminished since World War II, although they remain significant in smaller, less academically inclined, and Southern colleges. Where there have been campus conflicts, the sororities and fraternities have sided with the school administration against the leftist activists, where violence has occurred, fraternity men, who have been called "jocks," have fought the leftists.⁵⁴

Since the 1950s political organizations have helped provide a sense of identity and facilitated personal associations for a part of the student body. With the civil rights movement, new organizations arose to sponsor or give support to the Southern freedom rides and lunch counter sit ins, which sought to desegregate buses and eating places. There was

renewed interest in older organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the Young Peoples' Socialist League, the Student Workers Party, and the Haldane and, subsequently, the DuBois clubs. Among the newer groups were the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Committee for Racial Equality, Students for Democratic Action (an affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action), and Students for a Democratic Society. On the right were groups such as the followers of the philosopher Ayn Rand and the Young Americans for Freedom.

While fraternity and sorority members generally support the status quo, the leftist activists have seriously challenged many of the institutions and activities of the larger society. The Pentagon and the war in Indochina were denounced, as well as the influence of the military and the large corporations on many aspects of American life, including higher education. Activists have also attacked the practices and goals of their own colleges. An extremely critical stance, verging on nihilism, was encouraged by newspapers of the underground press such as the *Berkeley Barb*.⁵⁵ A contributing factor was the growth of the street culture around colleges from Berkeley to Harvard to Kansas. Drifters, most of them young people who have dropped out of college, who are socially and politically alienated, agnostic, and of high academic ability, have congregated around college communities. Many have little money and exist by doing odd jobs, panhandling, stealing, pushing drugs, selling underground newspapers, or sharing whatever they have with one another. Seeking new experiences and unable or unwilling to conform to convention, they are users of marihuana, LSD, and sometimes hard drugs, they wear exotic costumes and establish unorthodox living arrangements.⁵⁶

The extremely colorful street life, with its sense of freedom and avant-garde, extends its influence to the campus. Activities outside the regular college were always attractive—headmasters of old complained about students' "gaming, fighting, drinking and wenching".⁵⁷ But what is taking place on the street today is much more significant, for an important segment of college youth feels a sense of identity with this counter-culture. These developments occurred initially in the larger institutions, such as the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Michigan, the University of Wisconsin, and Columbia University; however, they have had an impact on all but the smallest and the denominational colleges.

What we see, then, is that mass institutions, when looked at more closely, contain many groups that are organized to a greater or lesser degree. This was also the case in the past, however, what has changed greatly is that previously the activities and perspectives largely comple-

mented the formal and informal goals of the college, while today they are often radically counter to them

While most demonstrations and confrontations have been quite peaceful, the violence which has been featured on television and in the newspapers has upset and angered the folks back home. Given the greatly increased cost of higher education and the many services it is now providing for the community, it is likely that public scrutiny and criticism would have arisen in any event. Yet these disturbances have triggered the questioning. However, public concern has also been aroused by drug use and sexual immorality on campus.

POT AND PETTING

The use of marihuana and the increase of sexual activity reflect greater independence from adult authority and the freedom afforded by being away from home. While smoking marihuana is not usual among college youths in general, it is undoubtedly much more common at the large urban and high prestige institutions and less common at the provincial colleges. Nevertheless, according to Peter Rossi, less than a third of the students in a nationwide survey reported having used marihuana. But he also found that among nonusers there was a great deal of tolerance by those who have observed their friends using it.⁵⁸

Quite clearly then, marihuana is not as widespread as some parents and ill informed public officials are wont to believe. The same is most likely true of LSD and the hard drugs.

With the demise of the concept that the college should act *in loco parentis*, there are now only minimal restrictions in almost all areas of behavior. For example, rules affecting students living in dormitories have been greatly liberalized. In some colleges girls are still required to check in, at least before breakfast.⁵⁹ Also, although students are allowed visiting rights in the dormitories, which used to be off limits to members of the opposite sex, the usual rule is that the door must remain open. The question of visitation has become an important issue on many campuses and has led to confrontations between students and administrators. An extreme case is that of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, where students were angered over a rule that requires coeds to keep the door of their dormitory room open while entertaining male guests. There was a week of demonstrations against the rule and during that time a faculty office was burned.⁶⁰ However, on a number of campuses there are dormitories in which men and women live on the same floor, and in a small number of institutions they may even share the same quarters.

Today there is hardly a campus rule against which the students do not

raise objections Yet opposition to college restrictions is nothing new What has changed is that the older generation of students saw the breaking of rules as a game, however, today's generation sees the rules as hypocritical and wants them changed⁶¹

Off campus, where there is little or no supervision of student life, the natural attraction of young people for one another leads to associations with varying degrees of intimacy Yet for most the result is still engagement and marriage

That sexual activity among college youth has been increasing over the years is supported by research findings The Rossi research reveals that 50 percent of the unmarried males reported having had sexual intercourse, as did 32 percent of the unmarried females⁶² Today, with the wide availability of contraceptives and abortions fear of pregnancy is less of a deterrent to premarital intercourse In a growing number of colleges the student health service prescribes contraceptive devices and the pill for unmarried coeds At the University of California, where this is done, even a "morning after" pill is available The clinic may also arrange for an abortion for an unwanted pregnancy⁶³

There are several explanations for the greater sexuality among college youths First, it simply reflects the growing openness and tolerance of sex in contemporary American society The present trend toward looser sex codes dates from the beginning of the twentieth century and has been furthered by a number of conditions in addition to the acceptance and availability of birth control, there is the breakdown of primary controls in general, with the special impact of urbanization and the dislocations of the Great Depression and World War II In addition, the scientific literature on sex, particularly the works of Freud and Kinsey and the plethora of popular writings, has challenged and helped break down older views and practices⁶⁴

In addition to this greater emphasis on sex, conditions of college life further encourage sexual activity Young people are away from home, and the social control of parents is replaced by individuation or by peer group pressures As more persons from the middle classes attend college, they are exposed to this social milieu in which sexual relationships are an overriding concern, particularly in the large state university For these students the ascetic ethos of their parents is exchanged for "a frankly hedonistic one in which sexual relations have become the keystone"⁶⁵

Contributing to this shift in values are precollege and student faculty institutional experiences As a result of the relative affluence in the United States young people have the means of participating in a separate culture they can afford dates, clothes, and cars They relate to

their peers, and see themselves as part of a separate stratum, if not class. Furthermore, changes in industrial society have created an in-between status for young people. Although they have earlier independence from their parents, they still are not yet considered to be adults because of their delay in entering the labor force and in taking on other adult responsibilities.⁶⁶

In a number of ways freshmen today are more mature because of contemporary adolescent life, and many feel less of an obligation to maintain strong ties to their parents or to conform to their standards. Consequently, the youngsters relate earlier to their peers and become involved with the opposite sex sooner than their parents did. In addition, many feel they cannot relate to their professors or to the organized life of the college. As a result, relations between the sexes take on added importance and provide the spontaneity, informality, and freedom from restraint that young people seek. Furthermore, the fact that sexual intimacy is opposed by adults makes it a symbol of being grown up.⁶⁷

Yet this apparent revolt by the young is nothing new, for each generation feels it has initiated or is in the midst of a new moral code in regard to sex. Moral precepts have always been challenged by collegiates. In 1721, the topic for a formal debate at Harvard was, "Whether it be fornication to lye with one's Sweetheart before Marriage."⁶⁸

STUDENT PROTEST

Some people see colleges as centers of conflict, destruction, and revolutionary activities. While the disruptions make the headlines, relatively few colleges and universities have been involved in any serious disturbances. Also, the activists in the Berkeleys and the Columbias were only a tiny proportion of the total college enrollment; most students followed traditional life styles and were politically moderate, if not conservative.⁶⁹ Later in this book an entire chapter is devoted to activism, but a couple of points may be mentioned here.

Although college youths reflect the populations they come from, they tend to be brighter, more innovative, and more open to new ideas than people who do not go to college. Many students are liberal and modern in regard to the arts and politics and eschew many aspects of the materialistic culture. In addition, college life has a liberalizing effect on most students.⁷⁰

Their learning experiences contribute to this liberation, as Flacks has noted.⁷¹ But equally important is the faculty, which, as a whole, is considerably to the left of the general population.⁷² The average faculty member is more probing, critical, and innovative than the nonacademic person and is more aware of how things actually work rather than the

way they ought to work, especially in regard to social issues Therefore, faculties tend to be less supportive of the status quo, and their students are, to some extent, influenced by faculty perspectives

In addition, students have fewer responsibilities than other people have (for example, earning a living and supporting a family) There is also close physical interaction with the large concentration of other students on campus⁷³

Since the 1960s, activism has declined Several factors are responsible, especially the reduction of American involvement in the war in Indochina and the end of the draft Consequently, students are less concerned with the government and with military affairs Also probably contributing to the decline in activism is the economic situation, particularly the depressed job market We may be moving toward the climate of the 1950s, with students turning inward and becoming politically apathetic

Nevertheless, college students continue to question the purpose and value of higher education In part, this questioning is related to the conditions cited earlier, however, it is also related to occupational trends and to the nature of the college population These are explored in the following sections

WHO GOES TO COLLEGE

It is well known that not all youths have the same opportunity to go to college To begin with, *where one is born* is an important determinant, particularly in regard to the elementary and secondary schooling which is available Obviously, poor education at the lower levels limits one's chances of getting into college later on Unfortunately, there is considerable variation in public expenditures for education Minnesota and Oregon spend the most, relative to per capita income, Maine and Virginia the least⁷⁴ In general, the wealthier and more urbanized states spend more, although historical traditions influence the value placed on education There is greater financial support in the upper Midwestern and Western states, where there is a tradition of Progressivism and its strong commitment to public education Less is spent in the South, where this tradition is absent and where many of the states are poorer Moreover, in the South public education is equated with integration and is, at best, supported only reluctantly⁷⁵

The type of community in which one lives is also related to the quality of the precollege education available Thus, slum children are much worse off than suburban youngsters,⁷⁶ no matter what part of the nation they live in Also, the schooling received by the nonwhite child is nowhere as good as the education obtained by the white student⁷⁷ State

expenditures for higher education follow the same pattern as support for elementary and secondary schools⁷⁸

Also, living within a large urban center increases the possibility that an institution of higher learning will be within commuting distance, and this proximity can greatly reduce the cost of going to college. However, what is most critical about college attendance is the socioeconomic status of one's parents.

STRATIFICATION AND COLLEGE ATTENDANCE Historically, those who received higher education were predominantly from the upper strata. Over time, and particularly since World War II, more people from the lower strata are obtaining a college education. Still, the higher the parents' socioeconomic status, the greater the likelihood that the children will attend college. This conclusion has been demonstrated by a great deal of research.⁷⁹ The magnitude of the difference socioeconomic status makes for college attendance is revealed in a longitudinal study of approximately 9,000 randomly selected Wisconsin high school students. The cohort was divided into four quarters, ranging from low to high, on the basis of a number of indicators of socioeconomic status.

A high SES student has almost 2.5 times as much chance as a low SES student of continuing in some kind of post-high school education. He has an almost 4 to 1 advantage in access to college, a 6 to 1 advantage in college graduation, and a 9 to 1 advantage in graduate or professional education. In the middle SES categories the rates are consistently between these extremes; the lower the SES group, the more limited the opportunities at each level of education.⁸⁰

Moreover, Spady has shown that the chances of sons from low-status homes attending or completing college have decreased over the past forty years.⁸¹ There is also a tendency for the lower-status student to go to a two-year institution,⁸² and the students from poorer homes who attend a four year college are likely to be in a school of lesser quality than youngsters from more affluent backgrounds. One measure of a school's quality is the ability of the students who are attracted to it. Almost 6,000 colleges were ranked on the basis of entering freshmen's reading, comprehension, abstract reasoning, and mathematics aptitude scores. Then the occupations of fathers of sons who graduated from the low-, medium-, and high ranked institutions were examined. The data show a strong association between father's occupation and the rank of the college attended by the son. Among sons who graduated from low ranked institutions, slightly more than 42 percent were from white-collar homes, a little over 32 percent had blue-collar fathers, and somewhat over 14 percent came from farm backgrounds. Of the graduates from the

medium-ranked colleges, almost 48 percent had white collar fathers, approximately 30 percent had blue-collar fathers, and about 10 percent had fathers who were farmers or farm managers. However, the differences are most striking in the case of the sons who graduated from the high-ranked institutions almost 61 percent were from white collar homes, in contrast to approximately 22 percent from blue collar and 7 percent from farm backgrounds (See table 1)

These unequal opportunities indicate discrimination against the lower strata. Even though larger numbers are entering college, prior inequities—principally in terms of inadequate elementary and secondary schooling—help keep the total down. This type of discrimination sorely affects blacks and some other minority groups. In addition, there is also religious and sexual discrimination in higher education.

RACIAL, RELIGIOUS, AND SEXUAL DISCRIMINATION Today, aside from the South, there is very little, if any, strictly racial discrimination in college admission policies⁸³ against qualified applicants, who, as noted above, are relatively few in number because of the poor education they receive at the elementary and secondary levels. While there has been an increase in the proportion of nonwhites in college, they still lag considerably behind the whites. Among youths eighteen to twenty one years old enrolled in institutions of higher learning, 33 percent are white com-

Table 1 Father's Occupation and Rank of College from Which Son Graduated in Percentages (1967)

Father's Occupation	Rank of College ^a		
	Low (N = 1,269)	Medium (N = 3,222)	High (N = 1,278)
White collar	42.2	47.9	60.7
Blue collar (including farm laborers)	32.4	29.7	21.8
Farmer or farm manager	14.3	9.7	6.7
Other, not specified, or not reported	11.1	12.0	10.9
	100.0	99.3	100.1

^a Colleges were ranked on the basis of entering freshmen's reading, comprehension, abstract reasoning and mathematics aptitude scores.

Source Adapted from U S Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, series P-20, no 201, "Characteristics of Men with College Degrees 1967," Washington, D C Government Printing Office, May 21, 1970, p 7 and 22.

pared to 23 percent black. Youths of Spanish origin also constitute 23 percent of the eighteen to twenty one-year olds in college.⁸⁴

Many institutions are leaning over backward to enroll minority group members such as blacks and Chicanos. This policy is partly the result of a sense of justice, and in part it is due to prodding by organized groups, both on and off campus. One approach is *open enrollment*, this is being tried at the City University of New York, where every high school graduate in the city who wishes to attend is assured a place on some campus of the University. Those who are in the top half of their class or whose high school grades average 80 or higher are assured acceptance into a senior college, while those with lower scores enter the community colleges. However, the attrition rate is extremely high, being twice that of the regular students who had been admitted under more stringent criteria.⁸⁵

While today the concern is with blacks and Chicanos, the other sizable group that has been discriminated against in higher education is the Jews. However, discrimination against them has declined greatly since the 1920s, when it reached a high point. Yet there are indications that it may currently be on the upswing in some places. Discrimination had existed mainly in the prestigious eastern schools, such as Harvard and Columbia, as the proportion of highly qualified and hard working sons of eastern and central European immigrants increased considerably.⁸⁶ It was practiced through subterfuges, such as employing various non academic criteria for admission and having alumni screen the applicants, however, the chief means was through geographic quotas. Since Jews are concentrated in a few states and in metropolitan areas, the attempt to achieve geographic balance meant in fact that fewer Jewish students were admitted to these schools. Thus, between 1920 and 1922, the percentage of Jews at Columbia fell from 40 to 22 with the imposition of regional quotas. However, other, less prestigious schools were still open to these students.⁸⁷

Today, most private schools seek to maintain geographic balance and there may still be some discrimination. As for public institutions, out-of-state applicants are discouraged by higher fees and higher qualifications. Given the concentration of Jewish applicants noted above, they may be hurt disproportionately. Discrimination is clearly involved in the attempt to keep out radical students whom college administrators believe come mainly from the East and are predominantly Jewish. Thus, two universities restrict applicants from areas of high Jewish concentration and one specifically restricts students from New York City.⁸⁸ The latter is a well known public institution.

Another minority group which has always been discriminated against in higher education is women. Colleges were virtually all male until

after the Civil War, but by the end of the nineteenth century most public institutions admitted women, in the Midwest and the Far West most private schools became coeducational at that time. Also after the Civil War, women's colleges were established until today there are some 200 four year female institutions.⁸⁹ Our main concern is not these special interest schools but rather the coeducational colleges for most of them discriminate strongly against women in admission treatment and employment, as the Swifts bring out in chapter 10. Many qualified women are dissuaded from even trying because of cultural expectations and the limited chances of obtaining positions commensurate with a college education. In addition, males are generally preferred as graduate students and are better supported financially. While female college enrollment has been increasing — it was 48 percent of eighteen to twenty one year olds in 1974⁹⁰ — these circumstances, plus the tiny proportion of female faculty members particularly in the higher ranks, further discourage women from undertaking academic careers.

Discrimination in these areas will probably remain a source of unrest if not conflict for many years to come. However, there are several trends which threaten higher education as we know it they are principally the changing composition of the student body and the colleges' attempts to solve certain societal problems. The latter include the marginal position of modern youth and the basis for young people qualifying for jobs.

Marginality, Mobility, and Mass Education

It has been suggested that changes in the division of labor are responsible for certain categories of persons finding themselves in a marginal position, in that meaningful activities are not available to them. There is a lack of roles in which they may productively contribute to society and in return receive social worth. Primarily youths are so affected.⁹¹

In an industrial society, in contrast to a preindustrial economic efficiency is a primary consideration. As a consequence, tasks are tailored to the capacity of human beings in their most productive span of years. The bulk of productive activities is carried out by adults within an age range which seems to be narrowing. Also in an industrial society the exclusion of the untrained has become a generally accepted practice. For young people this has resulted in fewer roles which provide social worth and thereby has led to unrest among the young and to behavior which is essentially compensatory. According to Coleman this constitutes the adolescent social world with its "competition for respect and recognition."⁹² Apprenticeships and on-the-job training are largely

things of the past. Youthful social activities, participation in community organizations, and occasional family chores are of such limited scope in relation to the functioning of the community or the family that they lack significance.⁹³

It is through mass education that industrial as well as industrializing societies have attempted to provide meaningful roles for young people.

THE EXTENSION OF EDUCATION AND LOWER CLASS MOBILITY

Initially, the extension of the age for leaving school at the secondary level became the means for coping with the hiatus between adolescence and the time young people were needed in the labor market. In 1910, 41 percent of the fourteen- to seventeen-year olds were not in school; by 1950 the proportion had dropped to 17 percent, and by 1974, only 7 percent were not in school. Increasingly, college began to fulfill this function. Thus, by 1960 17 percent of persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty four were in institutions of higher learning, and by 1974 the percentage had risen to 24.⁹⁴

Once the movement to extend education began, there has been no stopping it, even though as we shall argue, the technical and professional needs of the nation are more than being met. The extension has continued because education has been associated with democracy, cultural refinement, and, most important, with social mobility. Educational social movements and ideologists have furthered this trend, as has the establishment of educational constituencies. These constituents include parents who want their children to obtain good jobs, employers, the government, which benefits from applied research,⁹⁵ manufacturers and other entrepreneurs, who capitalize on scholarly findings, textbook publishers and other suppliers of educational materials, communities adjacent to college campuses and the academicians themselves. It also seems likely that the larger society has also benefited materially from educational expansion.⁹⁶ Most important of all, it has been providing young people with meaningful roles and social worth. However, the effectiveness of this function varies, principally in relation to students' social attributes. Motivation, home conditions favorable for academic success, and career interest are strongly associated with socioeconomic background. Yet the effectiveness of higher education in providing the young with meaningful roles and social worth may also be related to the proportion of youths who attend college.

In an ideal typical sense, there are basically three categories of college students. The first consists of children from the upper middle class, particularly from the homes of professionals. Their relatively high socioeconomic background limits their mobility. They cannot expect to

rise much higher, thus their efforts are expended to retain their position and not become downwardly mobile.

The second category takes in middle class children who aspire to the professional and higher level managerial and technical occupations. Since they are lower on the economic ladder more rungs are available to them. Although some will end up in more prosaic occupations such as elementary and secondary school teaching they will still be as well off as or better off than, their parents.

The third category covers working class children who theoretically can rise the farthest. A small proportion will enter the professions and some will even become a part of the elite.⁹⁷ However most will become elementary and secondary school teachers accountants salesmen probation officers, nurses, and social workers. They will have risen in status relative to their parents, in that they will have exchanged the white collar for the blue collar, the office for the factory and the salary for the hourly wage, and they will have obtained greater job security. As higher education continues to expand the bulk of new entrants will be in this category. Yet they are worse off than similar students say, two decades ago, when a smaller percentage of young people went to college. The simple reason is that the economy in recent years has not been able to provide a sufficient number of high status jobs for those preparing for them. For example, Myrdal noted that an annual growth rate of five percent, which American officials accepted as reasonable, was insufficient in terms of the expected number of job seekers, an adequate rate would be between 8 and 10 percent.⁹⁸

An expanding economy would take care of much of the problem, but once much of the labor force has the college degree it will no longer serve as a differentiating factor for most occupations. The students most likely to be provided with meaningful roles and social worth are from upper strata backgrounds, for they are preparing for the professions and the higher positions in government and industry. Middle and lower middle class youngsters who are destined for the lower level white collar occupations are less likely to obtain meaningful roles and social worth. Also the need for the baccalaureate is often dubious in terms of the kind of work they will be doing. This situation encourages questioning of the traditional values of higher education.

LOW STRATA STUDENTS AND TRADITIONAL VALUES

Today traditional values in higher education are facing strong challenge that is higher education in the sense of the search for fundamental knowledge. This was the original idea of the university and it is nicely expressed by Alexander Flexner. "The university," he wrote,

must shelter and develop thinkers experimenters, inventors, teachers and students, who without responsibility for action, will explore the phenomena of social life and endeavor to understand them⁹⁹

He emphasized that the university was not for the training of practical men — there might be other types of educational institutions for this purpose. Flexner argued for a separation between the scholarly process and the actual carrying out of policies. For example, scholars who are interested in urban society will be likely to find their material in current conditions of urban life, with its multiplicity of problems and conflicts. They may devote themselves to studying such phenomena as urban decay or drug addiction, they will endeavor to understand them and come up with adequate explanations and good theories. Yet they will *not* become social or political activists, thus they will not engage in such things as urban planning, programs to reduce drug addiction, or attempts to change the political structure — that is, they will not attempt to do these things *as scholars*. If they wish to engage in such activities in their private life, as citizens, this is fine, the main point is that the roles of scholar and activist must be kept separate¹⁰⁰. It should be clear that scholars, as we see them, are not irresponsible or heartless, rather, they should concentrate on obtaining fundamental knowledge that is essential if these problems are to be solved. Then, appropriate public or private agencies, social or political groups, or individuals can apply the basic knowledge in trying to reduce or end the many troubles which today plague the human race.

The main reason for keeping separate the roles of social scientist and activist is to maintain objectivity. Scholars must be able to keep some distance from their subject matter. Without this scholarly distance they may not be able to see the forest for the trees or keep out personal biases, or, they may become partisans for a course of action which is doomed to failure because it is based on faulty premises. If the scholar becomes a social or political activist, then who will study and evaluate, with any degree of objectivity, those programs for change that may be promulgated?

The only other responsibility of the scholar is to prepare a small number of students who will themselves become scholars and carry on such work. These two sets of responsibilities are the bases of the traditional concept of the university, which developed out of the heritage of the medieval universities and the German university of the nineteenth century. In the United States this traditional concept, although never fully realized, has existed to a large degree in the graduate divisions of the

However, the traditional concept of undergraduate education is also being challenged, and perhaps more seriously than graduate education. The traditional emphasis, as we noted earlier, is to liberate the mind and develop that habit of thought which Newman called the "philosophical habit." Students are encouraged to think logically, to proceed on a solid groundwork of facts and understandings, and to distinguish carefully what they know from what they do not. If this is their approach they "will feel nothing but impatience and disgust at the random theories and imposing sophistries and dashing paradoxes, which carry away half-formed and superficial intellects."¹⁰¹

The liberal arts value knowledge for its own sake; they are not the means to some other end, although there may be indirect benefits such as clear thinking, flexibility, and a broad outlook. These are attributes which, other things being equal, are likely to make a person outstanding in any field. In England the governing class benefited from this liberal education, with its classical and humanistic emphasis; people with this schooling exhibited insights into current happenings and were able to employ a broad perspective for the decisions they had to make.¹⁰² This tendency has also been true in the United States, and today this type of education is to a much greater degree available in the prestigious private institutions, which draw their students predominantly from the higher strata. Our argument, which is based on the premise of equality of opportunity, is that liberal education should be emphasized for all who go to college, and particularly for the lower-strata students, for whom the present tendency is to stress vocational training.

One of the most important factors undermining the traditional concept of higher education is the infusion of values which are inimical to it. In part this hostility reflects anti-intellectualism. Although characteristic of much of American life, it is more easily directed at higher education as it becomes large, costly, and public. However, there are countervailing tendencies which vary with stratum position; some families at the higher levels are aware of the value of the liberal arts for leadership positions, and most others probably feel that the liberal arts are useful in providing culture for their college sons and daughters. In any event, the liberal arts are at least tolerated and figure in the socialization of the children for educational achievement. A critical element of this socialization is the expectation that appropriate rewards will flow from education.¹⁰³

As higher education expands, it increasingly recruits from the lower strata,¹⁰⁴ where the countervailing tendencies are largely absent. The number of these students has been growing, in spite of the fact that low social status remains a great hindrance to entering and completing col-

lege More than that, as Spady's study shows, relative opportunity has been declining Nevertheless, the number of lower-strata college students has been going up, for it is a function of the total college enrollment, which in turn is related to the large size of the youth population This larger number of students from low social status origins has some serious consequences for higher education Since they are concentrated in the public schools, the consequences are especially significant for these institutions, which account for eight out of every ten college students¹⁰⁵

This line of argument is not to suggest that any class or group has a monopoly on anti-intellectualism, or on the valuing of college for its occupational benefits Even groups which have achieved much educational, and in turn occupational, success place a primary emphasis on the instrumental aspects of education¹⁰⁶ However, the *higher* the stratum, the less worry there is on how young people will be able to support themselves after graduation Family contacts, experience, and financial assistance facilitate entrance into the better occupations and the professions, aids which are not ordinarily available to the lower strata youth Consequently, it is understandable that the latter are more job oriented and have less interest in the liberal arts, for among other things they fail to see any direct benefits

It is not just that growing numbers from lower strata origins are responsible for undermining the traditional concept of the higher learning Equally important, if not more so, are those college teachers and administrators who seek to mold higher education to fit the presumed needs of these students The end result is further questioning of the value of education which does not have direct benefits Not only does this lack of confidence provide fuel for anti intellectual sentiments among the populace and justification for legislators to cut budgets of public institutions, but it also additionally adds to the confusion of goals and purposes inherent in American higher education This problem exists in almost all colleges but particularly among the second rank universities and state colleges whose student bodies come largely from lower middle class and working class backgrounds

Undoubtedly, lower-strata students have internalized some of the values which favor educational achievement, including even some toleration of the liberal arts However, they are much less certain of these values and may question the worth of the college degree itself For one thing, they are probably in contact with people who lack college degrees yet are making more money than elementary and secondary school teachers, bookkeepers, or lower-level technicians, which are the kinds of

occupations they are likely to be preparing for They become uneasy when they apply for unskilled jobs during the summer break and are told that they are overeducated for the task at hand They are further concerned when there is an economic depression The specter of underemployment, let alone the possibility of unemployment, must make them at times wonder what they are doing in college The recent situation of unemployed Ph D scientists¹⁰⁷ adds to their worries

Today many college students are overeducated for the jobs they obtain,¹⁰⁸ and this situation will worsen with the growing supply of educated manpower¹⁰⁹

At present some segments of the lower strata have benefited from the college degree, notably blacks¹¹⁰ However, in the long run they are also likely to be adversely affected by the trend discussed above They may very well find themselves in the same situation as Mexican American graduates for whom the financial returns are not commensurate with the costs of obtaining higher education¹¹¹

At present there is discontent among many educated workers, especially professionals, in large, dehumanizing organizations Some of these persons have become politicized and have agitated for institutional reform¹¹² There are also young people, training for professional careers, who indicate a disinclination to work in such organizations¹¹³ This discontent is partially related to the liberating aspects of higher education But equally significant is the gap between occupational reality and the occupational expectations which education has unwittingly fostered Educators in the main, and some persons outside academia, have claimed too much for the college degree It has been touted as the key to social mobility and to meaningful and satisfying professional and similar types of occupations It is one thing to be discontented because one's work does not allow for creativity, self-fulfillment, and serving humanity It is another matter if the college graduates have to take jobs that are usually filled by less educated workers, as will increasingly be the case¹¹⁴ We suggest that the discontent of the professionals and the professionals-to-be will soon be added to by these graduates

Undoubtedly the growing overeducation in terms of occupational prospects, coupled with the strong tendency to view the BA degree as a union card, is one of the sources of unrest among lower strata college youth My impression is that it is still largely latent, but it will increase as higher education takes in more youths from the working class and as the economy becomes saturated with the college-trained Although this unrest is latent, it may come to the surface when triggered by situations, such as war protests and confrontations with the author-

ties, in which student activists play a large part. The unrest of the latter is from a different source: they are disenchanted with higher education for they believe it fails to involve itself directly in solving the problems of society, such as poverty or racism. Together, both groups tend not to support the traditional assumptions of higher education, both tend to see little value in the learning process, let alone any intrinsic value in knowledge.

What we see happening today are subtle, and often not-so subtle, changes in the concept of higher learning. There is a favoring of the immediate and a turning away from the intellectual to the applied. There is also a catering to what the students want, not what tradition suggests or what the faculty thinks is best. If students find lectures boring, and this conclusion may have nothing to do with their scholarly content, then the lecturer is at fault. The most unusual case I have come across concerns a lecturer's antics in a course in elementary biology at the University of California at Berkeley. In an attempt to make the zoological discoveries of the past more interesting to the students, he dons wigs and period costumes and uses the mannerisms and speech of the time.¹¹⁵

The traditional concept has also been undermined by other means, but especially through large scale contract research and academic entrepreneurship since World War II. Today's institution of higher learning, particularly the large public institution, is involved in many kinds of activities, some highly questionable, and serves many constituencies. It is truly a *multiversity*, the term coined by Clark Kerr. The description given by Flexner more than four decades ago seems surprisingly accurate today. "The American University," he wrote, is

composed of three parts (1) secondary schools for boys and girls, (2) graduate and professional schools for advanced students, (3) "service" stations for the general public. The three parts are not distinct; the college is confused with the "service" station and overlaps the graduate school, the graduate school is partly a college, partly a vocational school, and partly an institution of university grade.¹¹⁶

The conflicting goals within higher education as well as among much of the public, the historical influences on the American college, and the trends cited above are endangering the traditional concept of higher learning that is, in the sense of the detached search for knowledge on the one hand, and in the emphasis on the liberal arts on the other. It is thus writer's opinion that of the several causes the most significant is the attempt to accommodate larger numbers of young people who are not needed in the labor market, most of whom are in college to obtain

vocational skills and the certification of the degree Yet more youths will become marginal because of trends in the occupational structure, and higher education will most likely continue to be viewed as a means of containing them How, then, may some of these problems be met?

Some Immodest Proposals

In our view, the first thing that is required is a specification of goals, crucially important if an organization is to fulfill its purpose¹¹⁷ Specifying goals is immensely difficult, yet the failure to do so not only leads to confusion but to a multiplicity of claims, some which are likely to be contradictory As different groups are serviced, the respective constituencies that develop may become potent forces pressing their claims, with the possibility, if not likelihood, that the university will be pushed and pulled in different directions This development may lead to the several components each going its own way, with the general student body, particularly the undergraduates, left in the lurch

The following proposals envisage the continuing trend of large numbers of young people obtaining education beyond secondary school Presumably there will be a number of different kinds of educational institutions, ranging from the university at one end to vocational schools at the other However, our comments will be restricted to university and college education The first reform is aimed at separating graduate and undergraduate education

1 This first proposal is that the Ph D be granted only at institutes of pure research, whose members' teaching duties are minimal and involve only candidates for the doctorate These students would in essence be apprentices While a few such institutes exist today (for example the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton), most could be formed out of the present graduate divisions of the better Ph D degree granting institutions Lest there be any misunderstanding, by *pure* we mean detached, scholarly research as opposed to applied studies and service activities, which should be removed from institutions of higher education The Ph D is conceived of in its traditional sense, as signifying the *research* competence of its holder

This change would mean a reduction in the number of Ph D's granted, a change that may be for the better The traditional research Ph D is not necessary for teaching undergraduates, similarly, it is not necessary for most administrative posts within and outside of the university Where doctoral programs are retained, there should be a clear separation between graduate and undergraduate activities, with separate

staffs, recruiting procedures, funding, and a differential system of rewards

2 The problem of where the teachers of undergraduates will come from may be solved by a new kind of advanced degree, a Doctor of Arts Such a degree, which is being offered at Carnegie-Mellon University, emphasizes teaching rather than research excellence¹¹⁸ However, the structure of rewards would have to be such that effort devoted to students, rather than to research, would be recognized in concrete terms Accolades and 'Most Inspiring Teacher of the Year' awards mean very little when they are contrasted with the reality of researchers receiving the lion's share of the promotions and salary increases¹¹⁹

With traditional Ph D programs transferred to institutes of pure research and clearly separated from undergraduate education, or eliminated in some cases, many if not most of the current doctoral degree-granting institutions could offer this doctor of arts degree

3 The present baccalaureate which consists of an unhappy mixture of liberal arts and vocationalism should be modified, and a three year program for the BA should be adequate These suggestions have been made previously¹²⁰ The three years should be devoted almost entirely to the liberal arts not to general education¹²¹ or, on the other hand, to premature specialization

Students who are primarily vocationally oriented would be directed to other types of post high school educational institutions Young people who could benefit from a liberal arts education but who also require professional or vocational training would undertake it after the BA For many occupations the three year bachelor's degree would be adequate, for others the additional schooling, for which a certificate or the master's degree would be awarded, could be more concentrated and directly related to a particular occupation or profession

4 Finally, we come to the knotty issue of who should go to college We are mindful of the question, will more mean worse? Two perspectives are involved in this controversy one is that there is a limited pool of talent, the position taken by those who want to restrict higher education, the other is that the pool of talent is much greater than is presently realized The latter is the position of those who wish to expand higher education¹²² We are against the restricted pool theory, which has a long tradition¹²³ Basically, we believe that there are still so many economic and cultural barriers to educational achievement among persons in the lower strata that the question of a talent pool is not meaningful until most of the inequities have been removed

We propose that opportunity for at least a three year liberal arts baccalaureate be made universal, limited only by demonstrated ability to

pursue such studies, and at a higher level than at present. We would upgrade the criteria so that the 'B' level of work would be minimal for graduation. For those who are unable to do college work yet desire education beyond high school, there should be other types of institutions. In these institutions the liberal arts should be available to the extent that the students can benefit from them, the emphasis, however, would be on occupational training.

Subsidies from the general tax monies should cover the student's total cost, including tuition, books, and living expenses, regardless of his/her family's financial situation. Thus, such a program would be like that provided by the G I Bill following World War II. The importance of full support for any student who qualifies, regardless of need, should be stressed, for it is essential if educational opportunity is to be increased significantly for lower strata youth. The reason for urging this full support is twofold. First, a means test is degrading and smacks of charity. Second, a middle class family which has raised its income level should not be penalized if it wishes to send its children to college.

One consequence of making educational aid widely available and with a minimum of financial strings attached would undoubtedly be to change the perceptions and aspirations of many able lower strata youths. It has been pointed out that lower strata people adapt to their life conditions, and that their attitudes and behaviors, which are usually upsetting to higher strata persons, are a part of this adaptation.¹²⁴ Complete and nondemeaning subsidization would go a long way to encourage a new form of adaptation. That is, for the able but poor, educational achievement in general would become meaningful, being able to go to college would be a concrete possibility and a goal to strive for.

A scholarship program of this nature is essential if we are really interested in extending opportunity for higher education, for at present it is being restricted rather than increased. We are dismayed by the current abandonment of inexpensive public higher education in the United States as evidenced by rising tuition, exorbitant costs for out of state students, reduction of scholarship aid, and the general retrenchment in higher education. We suspect it is largely because of the loss of the support of the middle class, which had been the strongest constituency for free or nearly free public higher education. Middle-class parents, having benefited occupationally and financially from the inexpensive education, can increasingly afford the higher costs of private schooling for their children. Now, they are apparently unwilling to support, through their taxes, the extension of greater educational opportunity to working class children.

The long run effect of expanding opportunity through scholarships

would be to make entrance to a good liberal arts college dependent on merit and not on one's station in life. Such a scholarship program would not be easy to enact. Yet, from a pragmatic political point of view, the chances of its being accepted would probably be much greater than subsidization on a need basis, the middle class, which would initially be the main beneficiary, would support it very strongly, and the lower strata would gain substantially especially as time went on. Such governmental aid would lessen the financial difficulties of both public and private colleges. The main benefit to public institutions would probably be greater independence from political and business influence, this would allow for a more vigorous pursuit of academic interests. Strengthening the prestigious private institutions would also help the public colleges, prestigious private schools, which more strongly hold to the traditional values of higher education, are an important influence on public institutions. The small, nonselective private colleges would also be helped. Their existence is desirable since they help maintain diversity and offer additional options. Also because they have a warmer and more cohesive atmosphere and greater flexibility than the larger institutions,¹²⁵ they could provide programs to increase the academic competence of poorly prepared lower strata youths. This approach would be preferable to the present open admissions policy of some public institutions which appear to water down the traditional offerings.¹²⁶

The cost of making educational opportunity so widespread would be considerable.

Probably few would question whether this country has the resources for it, rather, it is a matter of priorities. The words of Flexner are appropriate. Addressing himself to both the United States and Great Britain, he noted that both nations were devoting huge sums to war, relative to what they were spending on education. "Until the figures are reversed," he wrote, "the two nations deceive themselves as to what they care about most."¹²⁷

If the reforms we have advocated were realized, what would this development mean in regard to student unrest? We suggest that with more lower strata students obtaining a good liberal arts education there would probably be more unrest. The liberal arts in earlier times, as we noted, educated the sons of the upper class for leadership of the society, our proposals aim to bring this educational opportunity to men and women at all levels. Many persons would probably give lip service to this wish without realizing the potential danger to the political status quo that is, there would be likely to be an increase in the critical examination of the institutional arrangements in our society, and the less advantaged would probably call for a greater share of the available

resources Such demands, together with the strength of numbers, assuming political organization among the lower strata, could be a powerful force for change It has been suggested that the reason the English industrial workers of the 1830s and 1840s failed to use the sheer weight of their numbers to obtain better conditions was that they were so ill educated¹²⁸

Today, education is much more widespread Yet, as we observed earlier, the present system, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels, helps to socialize lower strata youths so that they will not be critical of existing institutional arrangements¹²⁹ It is in college that a critical stance is more likely, however, in the past most students, being from the higher strata, had little to gain from major societal reform The relatively few lower strata youths who obtained higher education were, by and large, socialized by their experiences into the interests and ways of thinking of the higher strata At present, large numbers of young people continue to seek a college education, mainly because the need for these young people in the labor market is declining and because of the still widespread belief that higher education is necessary for occupational mobility

We have pointed out that the major difficulties in higher education today are caused by certain internal and external problems Our proposals for dealing with them have called for a clear separation of the graduate and undergraduate divisions and related reforms, and the upgrading of undergraduate education by raising standards and by emphasizing the liberal arts Probably many who are in college today would not be accepted or retained under such circumstances we have in mind those who do not have the ability are lazy, or lack intellectual interest For them, alternatives to college would have to be provided, but they would have to be meaningful alternatives if these young people are not to continue to be marginal On the other hand, the reform of the college would, it is hoped, make it meaningful to its students and thus alter the marginal status many now find themselves in

Since the middle 1960s there has been widespread unrest on the campus Although there are many causes for this unrest we have concerned ourselves mainly with the structural conditions within higher education which have contributed greatly to it One aspect of the turmoil has been the groping efforts of many youths to change aspects of the society that badly need reform It is unfortunate that much of this effort has been dissipated because able young people have become part of the nihilism of the drug culture or have withdrawn in other ways, as Flacks observes¹³⁰ These people have rejected higher education often blaming it for almost all the ills society is currently plagued with Their

attitude is ironic, for higher education contains within it the ideas and ideals necessary for societal reform, particularly in humanistic terms. It is our contention that the liberal arts with their traditional humanistic emphasis provide the key, and that the best hope for the future is to have the most able people from all strata well educated in that area. Rather than seeking to weaken higher education by giving it tasks for which it is unsuited, the aim should be to reform it so that it can carry out its traditional purpose on the graduate level to search for knowledge in a detached fashion, and on the undergraduate level to liberate young minds, encourage disciplined thinking, and develop a humanistic perspective on life.

Notes

- 1 See Robert A Nisbet, *The Degradation of the Academic Dogma*, New York Basic Books, Inc., 1971, pp 41-47. However, according to Nisbet this dogma, which provided institutions of higher learning with a sense of identity and gave them a special place in society, has been greatly eroded since World War II.
- 2 See Michael Mann, 'The Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy,' *American Sociological Review*, 35 (June 1970), 423-439, especially 436-437.
- 3 Preserved Smith, *The Social Background of the Reformation*, New York Collier Books, 1967, pp 194-195, and Dorothy George, *London Life in the 18th Century*, New York Capricorn Books, 1965, p 218.
- 4 J L Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, New York Harper Torchbooks, 1969 p 231.
- 5 See Charles H Hastings, *The Rise of the Universities*, Ithaca, New York Great Seal Books, 1957, pp 1-2, 4-5, and 24-25. The quotation is from p 24.
- 6 Quoted by Hastings, *ibid*, p 24.
- 7 R Freeman Butts and Lawrence A Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, New York Henry Holt and Co, 1953, p 81.
- 8 William C DeVane, *Higher Education in Twentieth Century America*, Cambridge, Massachusetts Harvard University Press, 1965, pp 175-177.
- 9 *Ibid*, pp 177-179.
- 10 See Louis B Wright, *Culture on the Moving Frontier*, New York Harper Torchbooks, 1961, pp 66-67.
- 11 U.S Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1961, pp 10 and 211, and *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 1974, 94th edition Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1974, pp 31 and 109. During these fifty years the number of persons twenty to twenty-four years of age increased some seventeen times.
- 12 U.S Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 1960, p 121, and *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 1974, p 110.

- 13 DeVane, pp 59, 74-76, and 81
- 14 Ibid, p 133
- 15 Ibid, pp 124 and 130-131
- 16 Ibid, pp 132-133, Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, New York Harper Torchbooks, 1963, pp 53-55 and 60-61, and U S Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 1974, p 143
- 17 DeVane, pp 127 and 133, and U S Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 1974, p 533
- 18 DeVane, pp 95, 133, and 136-139
- 19 Kerr, p 18
- 20 See Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*, New York Doubleday & Co, Inc, Anchor Books, 1969, pp 265-266, 268-269, and 281-282 With the greater selectivity junior and community colleges began to be established for the less academically able
- 21 Ibid, pp 264-270
- 22 The training in undergraduate professional schools is much more specialized and job-oriented There is minimal exposure to the liberal arts although the tendency in recent years has been to increase these requirements somewhat See Paul Woodring, *The Higher Learning in America A Reassessment*, New York McGraw Hill Book Co, 1968, pp 200-201
- 23 Theodore Caplow and Reece J McGee, *The Academic Marketplace*, Garden City, NY Anchor Books, 1965 pp 165-166
- 24 Ibid, p 167
- 25 See Nisbet, pp 93-94 and ff
- 26 See, e.g., American Association of University Professors, "Academic Freedom and Tenure The University of California at Los Angeles," *AAUP Bulletin*, 57 (September 1971), 382 Those dismissed include a member of the Communist Party (*The University of California at Los Angeles*), and activists opposed to the war in Indochina (Rutgers and The University of Hawaii) At Berkeley during 1949 and 1952 faculty members were required to sign a special loyalty oath or be fired
- 27 John L Chase, *Graduate Teaching Assistants in American Universities A Review of Recent Trends and Recommendations*, Washington, D C Government Printing Office, May 1970, p 47
- 28 See DeVane, pp 28-33 and 77-78
- 29 Kerr, p 36
- 30 Woodring, p 144 Cf Harold Taylor, *Students Without Teachers*, New York Avon Books, 1969 p 98
- 31 See Burton R Clark, *Educating the Expert Society*, San Francisco Chandler Publishing Co, 1962, pp 156-157
- 32 See Nisbet, pp 77-79 and ff
- 33 See, e.g., Francis X Clines "Legislators Weighing Cuts for City U," *New York Times*, March 12, 1971, p 44, Carl Irving, "Capitol Sees Austerity for UC, Colleges," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*, January 24 1971, Section A, p 9, and "Money Pinch Is Really Beginning to Hurt," *New York Times*, April 18, 1971, p E9

- 34 There has been a rapid growth of professional unionism in the 1970s. As of spring 1970, the AFT was the bargaining agent for nineteen four-year colleges and universities, the AAUP for seventeen, and the NEA for sixteen. Ninety percent of the schools with collective bargaining contracts were public institutions. Everett C Ladd, Jr., and Seymour M Lipset, *Professors, Unions, and American Higher Education*, Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1973, pp. 1-2. Among the results of unionization, Ladd and Lipset foresee greater separation between faculty and administration and a move away from meritocracy. Yet, while it will have "leveling" consequences it will not eliminate the "star" system. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98 and 104.
- 35 In a study of forty one different kinds of colleges for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and the Ford Foundation, Cheit found that seven out of ten were in financial difficulty and the rest were headed in that direction. Earl F. Cheit *The New Depression in Higher Education*, New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1971, pp. 139-143 and 152-154. See also "U.S. Colleges Face Crises as Costs Rise, Income Dips," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 8, 1970, p. 1.
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Suggestions for Further Reading

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GRADUATE EDUCATION

ELDON L. MCNAUL

Nearly every American parent and most high school students accept the desirability of a college education. For many parents the wish to send their children to college has meant a lifetime of saving, in the hope that their children will be better able to attain the American dream of success. For many others college attendance is so taken for granted that the *only conscious decisions* are "which school?" and, perhaps, "for how long?" Few doubt the benefits, both economic and personal, for those who pass through the hallowed halls of America's institutions of higher learning. Yet most young people are unable to continue their education beyond high school. While they may be the numerical majority, they have clearly fallen short of a cultural ideal.

Sentiments about college education receive many institutional supports in our society. The public school system itself is oriented primarily towards preparing students for higher education. Politicians, in rhetoric and to a lesser degree in programs, support the goals of

education and the notion that everyone should have equal access to higher education. Our advanced industrial economy and our political aims presume a highly educated labor force. After all, we can only lead the way in space exploration, military technology, and economic productivity if we produce enough scientists, engineers, and computer programmers. Finally, the mass media reinforce the ideal of college education and portray the joys of being a college student. Whether the image involves buttoned down collars or shaggy hair, beer drinking or picket lines and sit ins, the press, television, and movies depict college as a time of freedom, experimentation, and self discovery, and as a place for romantic encounters. While there may be some disapproval of radical ideas and the life style of some students, the college experience is pictured as an important, normal and indeed an expected stage of life.

Graduate education, by comparison, is not so clearly understood by the public. Best sellers or movies seldom focus on the life of graduate students. Television almost never portrays young people continuing their education beyond the bachelor's degree. Instead of receiving understanding and approval, graduate students often find the general public puzzled by their student status. They are suspected of escaping from the responsibilities of taking a job and facing the practical world. Some parents fear their son or daughter seeking a graduate degree may have been seduced into the ivory tower and may never rejoin the circle of average, normal people. Since only 12 percent of the fathers of graduate students have been to graduate school and only one third have any college education at all, the vast majority of graduate students are, in fact, experiencing something remote from the understanding of even their own parents.¹

Graduate education furthermore, has tended to go unnoticed by those who ordinarily concern themselves with education. Politicians rarely, if ever, promise their constituents more opportunity for graduate education. The schools generally do not stress the need for graduate education. Many college students do not confront the possibility that they will have to continue their education beyond the bachelor's degree, until they are seniors when for the first time, they begin to look at the job market and assess their chances. Nor have social scientists and the critics of higher education focused much attention on graduate schools. Nearly all discussion of higher education during the past decade has been limited to undergraduate education. If graduate education is mentioned at all, it is usually in the negative sense of taking resources and attention from undergraduate college students.

Nevertheless, graduate education has established itself as an important

step in the career preparation of many American youth. Since 1940, the number of master's degrees conferred annually has grown by more than six times, and the number of doctorates earned annually has increased at an even faster rate.² Education beyond the bachelor's degree is becoming more common. A national study of college seniors in 1961 dramatized these facts by its conclusion that "a bachelor's degree recipient is more likely to anticipate postgraduate study than a high school student to anticipate college." Fully 76 percent of graduating college seniors expected to acquire further education after their bachelor's degrees.³

Table 1 presents the number of higher education degrees earned in 1959-1960 compared with 1969-1970 and projected to 1979-1980. These figures show that graduate enrollment has been growing at a faster rate than undergraduate enrollment. Between 1969-1970 and 1979-1980, all graduate degrees will increase more than twice as rapidly as undergraduate degrees. Consequently, graduate students are becoming a larger proportion of students enrolled in higher education.

Yet graduate education remains a relatively unstudied segment of American higher education. Who goes to graduate school and why? Where do people continue their education? What are the problems facing graduate students? How is graduate education related to other aspects of American society? Answers to such questions will be suggested in the following summary of the limited research findings on graduate education in the United States.

Why Graduate Schools Exist

In order to understand an institution, sociologists try to view its activities in the context of the larger society. All the institutions of a society are interrelated. They engage in exchanges with one another which influence the internal life of each. The importance of graduate edu-

Table 1. Earned Degrees in Higher Education in the United States 1959-1960 to 1979-1980

	Bachelor's and first professional	Master's	Doctorates
1959-1960	389,183	77,592	9,824
1969-1970	827,234	208,291	29,866
1979-1980 (estimate)	1,200,000	380,000	64,100

Source: Office of Education Projections of Educational Statistics to 1980-81. DHFW Publication No OE-7299 1971 Edition Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1972, table 21, p. 43.

cation in our society is apparent when its relationship to other activities, particularly the economic and political systems, is understood. Graduate institutions rely upon the government and the economy for resources and support. In turn, the political and economic activities of society depend upon the intellectual and human products of graduate schools for achieving their own goals.

The most obvious purpose of graduate institutions is to train people in highly specialized fields. Undergraduate education is a general education, which exposes students to the whole range of intellectual life, familiarizing them with the major branches of knowledge and with fundamental intellectual issues. A bachelor's degree, however, does not prepare a person for a specific occupation. In this sense it is not practical, and it is not directly related to the demands of the labor market. Many occupations, however, do require advanced training during which the individual masters highly technical skills and a body of specialized knowledge. It is this additional education which professional and graduate schools provide.

Until recent times, say, World War II, postgraduate work was largely restricted to the traditional professions of law, medicine, and the ministry, while academic graduate schools generally provided training for the next generation of college and university professors. In our early industrial period, there was little reason for highly advanced training. Technology was relatively simple, and research was possible with little formal training. In the early part of this century, persons such as Thomas Edison, Henry Ford, and the Wright brothers were able to make fundamental technological breakthroughs without the expertise or elaborate facilities required for contemporary research and development. Graduate education was largely superfluous in the operation of the economy.

REASONS FOR GROWTH

As industrialization progressed, technology advanced, organizations were transformed into bureaucracies and our society became more complicated. All these changes meant an upgrading in the skills and education of the labor force. Machines were able to perform an increasing amount of labor that formerly involved unskilled and semiskilled human effort. The economy began to require the services of a profusion of experts, from electrical engineers to industrial psychologists, from research chemists to market researchers. Thus, between 1910 and 1950, the proportion of professional and technical workers in the labor force nearly doubled, from 4.4 percent to 8.5 percent.⁴ This trend is continuing. In 1960 professional and technical workers made up 11 percent of the labor force and by 1975 they constituted nearly 15 percent.⁵ While the process

of automation continues to eliminate low skill blue collar and white-collar jobs, the number of higher status positions is expanding

These changes in the economy have had profound implications for education. As occupations have become more intellectually demanding, education has become more necessary for occupational preparation. With higher levels of expertise needed, more persons have had to extend their formal education into graduate school in order to acquire specialized knowledge and skills. Burton Clark, in his book, *Educating the Expert Society*, summarizes these developments as follows:

Education is becoming so fused with occupations that it may be seen as part of the economic foundations of society. In the technological society—the currently most advanced stage of industrialism—highly trained men replace raw materials and the factory machine as the crucial economic resource.⁶

Clark notes that education has become a capital investment, just as crucial as raw materials and machinery. Graduate education is no longer concerned exclusively with training the faculties of the nation's universities. The products of graduate schools are needed and are found in all phases of economic life. Berelson, in 1960, emphasized this point:

The organization in this country that employs most Ph.D.'s today is not Harvard or Yale or Illinois or Michigan. It is Du Pont. Furthermore, General Electric has more than twice as many Ph.D.'s on its staff as Princeton, Shell has more than M.I.T., Union Carbide or I.B.M. has about as many as Northwestern or Cal Tech. As a matter of fact, industrial firms like these probably employ more Ph.D.'s today than all the liberal arts colleges in the country. The Federal Government has more than any of these, about as many as the top 10 universities put together.⁷

Thus, graduate education has become an integral part of our society. Its products are not exclusively destined for a life of scholarship, but increasingly for other roles, performing practical functions in the major political and economic institutions.

Traditionally, universities were charged with preserving the knowledge and cultural heritage of our civilization and with passing it on to a relatively small, privileged segment of the population. Secondly, they provided training for a small professional class. As education gained in economic importance, the public began to take a more active interest in its support. State university systems were established to train people to meet the changing manpower needs of an industrial society. Education was now viewed as an investment in the continued economic growth of the country and was open to more than the wealthy few. At the same time, the nature of formal education also changed. There was less emphasis on classical knowledge, formerly the hallmark of the gentle-

man, and more emphasis on an education that would prepare a person to function effectively in the contemporary world.

Changes in the university did not stop there, however. As technology advanced and the United States moved into a position of power in the world, further progress depended on continuing innovation and the generation of new knowledge. Universities began to devote themselves seriously to a new role of basic research. It was no longer sufficient to preserve and pass on accumulated knowledge; a rapidly changing society required universities concerned with innovation and the expansion of understanding in all fields of knowledge. The educational function of the university became secondary to the research function. The change is reflected in reduced teaching loads for faculty and in new priorities in budgets.⁸

American universities increased the money spent on research more than 2600 percent between 1939-1940 and 1957-1958, from \$27 million to \$734 million.⁹ When expenditures are standardized in 1967-1968 dollars, universities spent \$900 million in 1957-1958 for organized research; by 1977-1978 it is expected that universities will be spending \$5 billion annually on research. These figures indicate that universities now devote a substantial amount of effort to creating knowledge.¹⁰

An important aspect of this change is the emergence of a new relationship between the university and the state, and an increased involvement in political processes. Universities are used by the government as research institutes for implementing political goals. Thus, between 1962 and 1968, the federal government expanded its annual funds for basic research in universities from a little more than \$600 million to over a billion dollars. These sums do not include money for research facilities and student support, which have also increased.¹¹ Whether the government is interested in atomic energy, military technology, space exploration, curing cancer, population control, reducing crime and delinquency, eliminating poverty, or eradicating environmental pollution, it is dependent upon the universities to generate the basic knowledge for these programs. To investigate such complicated matters, universities now have elaborate research institutes with large staffs of scientists.

There are, of course, serious consequences arising from this new relationship with the state and this new function of the university. The university, by accepting its research role, has become implicated in the political process. Decisions of political bodies now influence the resources available to the university and the kinds of activities found in graduate programs. Intellectuals are recognizing that their activities are forwarding political goals, and it is requiring a new adjustment for them to learn to accept the negative responses of students and others who disagree with those goals.

In summary, postgraduate education has become necessary for the operation of our society. An advanced industrial economy requires many highly trained persons capable of performing technical roles. Graduate enrollments have increased to meet these manpower needs, and the proportion of people with graduate degrees employed outside universities and the traditional professions has greatly expanded. However, this has not meant a decline in university employment of persons with graduate training, for increased college enrollment has created a need for more college teachers. Universities have also been transformed into highly subsidized research institutes.

The changing manpower needs of our society and the unprecedented importance of basic research, however, do not completely explain the growth of graduate education since World War II. Other forces have added to this growth with mixed results. Thus, while the need for professionals and for highly trained technical persons is increasing, the rate of production of graduate degrees is growing even faster. As a result, universities are preparing more people for high level jobs than there are jobs for them to go to, particularly in the sciences and in such popular fields as history, psychology, political science, and economics. Allan Carter¹² has systematically assessed the likely doctorate production and available opportunities both in and out of the academic world through the 1980s. His conclusion is that for the next fifteen years graduate schools will be granting between 30 percent and 50 percent more degrees than required by our needs. Suddenly it has become clear that our society does not have an unlimited need for scientists nor, indeed, for graduate trained persons in any field.

In view of the growing oversupply of Ph.D.'s, why are enrollments continuing to increase? The dramatic increase in graduate degrees since World War II is, in part, a consequence of the American emphasis on individual mobility. American ideology has always stressed the importance of ambition, the attempt to improve one's lot in society, and the complementary view of society as holding out abundant opportunity to succeed. Americans have traditionally admired the self made person, who can climb to the top from humble beginnings.

The means of reaching the top have changed, however, with the emergence of the late industrial period. Inheritance of position, which was possible in an era of family businesses and farms, is no longer an important entrée into the upper reaches of a society consisting of large bureaucracies. Nor are the traditional virtues of hard work and thrift enough to qualify one for a high position. Jobs in bureaucracies are held on the basis of expertise, and the highly technical nature of many activities in our society requires people with specialized training.

Consequently, people's levels of education have become the primary

criterion for determining their placement in the labor force and in the stratification system Advanced degrees have become credentials or "union cards" that guarantee the holder a certain place in society The higher the degree, the higher the placement Everyone is encouraged to acquire as much education as possible, and the educational system tries to accommodate the maximum number of students

For a large segment of the population, the decision to send children to college is not even deliberated but is assumed The presumption of a college education is, of course, based on the parents' desire that their children obtain the highest possible level of success Many college students consider their attendance at college a means of guaranteeing them a good job and a comfortable living or the opportunity to meet and marry someone who can provide these advantages Going to graduate school is often seen as simply guaranteeing more of the good life by qualifying the student for an even better job

Thus, the swelling enrollments of graduate schools reflect desires for mobility and success in a modern economy where level of education is the primary determinant of status The unfortunate assumption is made, however, that the top can accommodate as many persons as prepare for it In actual fact, the number of professional and technical positions available is limited It is determined by the level of technology and the specific types of activities occurring in society

The important connection between level of education and occupation has been so widely accepted that there is a tendency to view the primary function of universities and colleges as certifying people for jobs Academic degrees are relied upon to indicate an individual's ability to perform a job In many organizations decisions regarding recruitment and promotion are made on the basis of formal educational credentials This policy often reflects organizational convenience, quite apart from the relevance of the education for the work to be done Organizations must differentiate between applicants on some basis, and level of formal education is a criterion which enables them to differentiate in a relatively objective and efficient manner¹³

As a particular labor market becomes flooded with people who have one level of education, a person must then obtain a higher degree in order to qualify for recruitment or promotion Thus in recent years, the educational requirements for certain jobs have escalated without corresponding changes in the duties of the position Increasingly, public schoolteachers are required to get master's degrees, and promotion to an administrative post may not be possible without a doctorate A similar escalation of the prerequisite education has occurred in social work, public administration, business, and engineering In order even to be

considered for the best positions, a master's or perhaps a doctorate is required. In the physical sciences, postdoctoral work is becoming more and more typical.¹⁴

American society, then, is becoming a "credential society," in which personnel decisions are based largely on the educational degree held by an individual. Under these circumstances graduate degrees may be obtained not because further training is required by the duties of a position, but rather as an aid to the individual in the competitive struggle to qualify for the job. In this sense, graduate school may overeducate people by extending their knowledge and technical skills beyond what they will be able to use in their work. Because of the career implications of degrees, graduate schools are burdened with many students who have little interest in highly specialized scholarship.

The expansion of graduate education also involves the proliferation of graduate programs in many new fields. This expansion is a testimony to the acceptance of formal education as an important criterion of status in our society. Besides certifying individuals for specific occupational opportunities, graduate education also certifies entire professions, legitimizing their claim to the high prestige and income associated with the traditional professions of law and medicine. In other words, not only is graduate education necessary for individuals who wish to attain a high status occupation, but the occupation itself will be granted high status only if it requires graduate education.¹⁵

In part, the expansion of graduate programs and graduate enrollments is due to pressures from various occupations to improve their own professional status in American society. Some universities have established graduate and professional programs in fields such as forestry, agriculture, architecture, and city planning. Doctoral degrees are being offered in business administration, library science, and social work. These programs are backed by people wishing to upgrade their field and increase their pay. In many cases it is questionable whether there is enough specialized knowledge to justify such an extension of formal education.

In summary, graduate education has undergone substantial growth. It now constitutes a major part of higher education in the United States. There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, there has been an expansion in the upper strata of the American labor force. The increasing complexity of political and economic processes has created more need for high level technicians and professionals. This need is reflected in a greater demand for graduate trained persons outside the university, as well as in the expansion of the research functions of universities and a corresponding need to enlarge their own operations. These changes will continue and will justify further increases in graduate education.

On the other hand, more and more people feel obliged to pursue education beyond the bachelor's degree, not so much because they really want further education but because of the career implications of the advanced degree. Thus, some people enroll in graduate school in order to gain an edge in the job market. This motive is reinforced as employers increasingly rely upon graduate degrees for evaluating prospective job holders. Finally, entire professions see graduate education as a means of improving their power, prestige, and income.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF GROWTH

The combined effect of these forces in expanding graduate education deserves comment. First, it seems clear that more people are being required to extend their formal education into their late twenties, as graduate degrees become prerequisites for a greater number of occupations. Second, American society is becoming a credential society, where one's social status is primarily determined by performance in the educational system and by the formal educational credentials that have been earned. To the extent that these trends have negative consequences, it can be argued that further expansion of graduate education should be discouraged, because it would not be in the best interests of the individual or the society.

Requiring people to remain in the student role prolongs adolescence. In some fields, particularly the sciences, even the doctorate is insufficient for good jobs, and postdoctorate study postpones adulthood until the early thirties. Some persons may feel that this is acceptable, since our labor force cannot accommodate everyone for all the years of biological adulthood. Others may view graduate students as fortunate for being able to remain in the protective arms of the university for so long, without having to face the unpleasant realities of economic competition or of a nine to five job. The freedom and social participation available to graduate students are extolled as more than compensating for limited income and a role of dependency.

But though graduate student life has its compensations there are also some important personal costs. These are evident in the fact that most students are glad to finish graduate school, and many leave before completing their studies. Most graduate students experience frustration at less than full participation in society and the inability to act as an adult. Graduate students are dependent on faculty approval and thus are forced to accept faculty definition of what is relevant knowledge. There is only limited opportunity for them to apply what they know. In practical fields like social work, engineering and business, impatience with academic course work is the predictable result. Graduate

students typically are under heavy academic pressure, which allows them little time to participate in the leisure activities of miss America. In addition, they often are forced to live on an income which allows few material comforts. Married students often have to reverse roles, with the wife as provider, this situation frequently leads to tension. These personal hardships are suffered in exchange of course, for improved career opportunities later on.

Although our technologically advanced society benefits from graduate education, some problems are created as higher degrees become the exclusive basis for recruitment into many fields. This is particularly the case when specialized training is irrelevant to a successful performance of the occupational role. Frustration is felt by many people who acquire technical knowledge and skills that they have no opportunity to use. Schoolteachers may have to go to considerable inconvenience and expense to obtain a master's degree, which in no way changes their effectiveness in the classroom. Much of their newly acquired knowledge is wasted because their principle duties are keeping discipline and following prescribed course outlines. Social workers typically, have considerable knowledge of the psychological basis of personal difficulties and are trained in various ways to help people overcome their problems. Yet many social workers are employed in positions which allow little or no opportunity to work closely with their clients. Others have such large case loads that they have time for only bureaucratic paperwork. Other examples of professionals who have no opportunity to use their training include registered nurses who merely keep the books and answer the telephone, engineers who do no more than routine drafting and college professors with doctorates who devote themselves to routinely passing on the rudiments of their fields to bright eyed freshmen each year.

These people are overeducated. They have invested time and energy in acquiring a graduate education which is inapplicable to the work they are doing. This waste of talent leads to dissatisfaction, low morale and cynicism. The truth is that our society still needs vast numbers of persons to perform routine activities that do not demand a high level of specialized training.

Overeducation is not the only problem arising from an emphasis on credentials. School performance is often an inadequate indication of job competence. The fact is that there is no necessary correspondence between the grades earned in school and an individual's performance on the job. High grades often reflect certain specific skills such as note taking and test taking. Achieving good grades also may be made easier by personal attributes such as dependency, uncritical acceptance of authority, and a lack of other competing interests. But these skills and

characteristics may have no relation to a person's ability to perform in a given occupation and in some instances may be a handicap. One study of attrition in graduate school found no essential difference in academic ability of students, as measured by standardized tests, and their success in graduate school.¹⁸ Apparently even within the university other personality factors and the interpersonal context of the department determined who did and who did not obtain a degree.

The most important abilities in job performance are often not the focus of academic programs and are usually not developed through formal graduate instruction. For example, a teacher working with young children requires patience, sensitivity to others, and personal warmth. Individuals with these attributes may succeed whether or not they have a master's degree. Likewise, effective social work probably involves a strong commitment to clients' welfare, a knowledge of the community structure, and a sensitivity to ethnic and community norms and mores. For such jobs, recruitment of middle class students from graduate schools may be totally inappropriate.

Obviously, the usefulness of advanced degrees in the selection of individuals for occupational roles is limited. Skills and knowledge instilled in the classroom may not always be the most important qualities for an effective life outside the university. Increased reliance on advanced degrees for personnel selection may not result in recruiting and promoting the most suitable individuals. Expansion of graduate schools for this purpose may actually *decrease* the efficient allocation of manpower in society.

The movement toward a credential society also rigidifies the labor force and restricts opportunity. To the extent that opportunity is limited by one's formal education, an individual's destiny in the labor force is determined early in life, before the end of the school years. Patterns of identification with parents and school, and available peer groups, and role models even in grammar school, play a large part in determining how well one masters the fundamental skills, so important for academic success. The life chances of a person with negative school experiences are extremely limited. The more exclusively opportunities are tied to school experiences, the less chance there is for later achievement and success.

To be sure, in a complex and technical society formal education has to be a prerequisite for many positions. As graduate degrees become necessary for administrative posts in government, education, and business, the phenomenon of the self made man will disappear. One's ultimate destiny in the stratification system will be virtually predetermined by the last degree obtained, irrespective of one's effort and competence on the

job To the extent that this criterion prevails, the opportunities for improving one's status during one's career will diminish

In many fields, such as public health, social welfare, and education, there are labor shortages These shortages are largely a product of the educational requirements for holding these positions Currently, the necessity for these requirements is being questioned For example, some recent projects organized in urban ghettos have demonstrated that people without formal academic training — ex-gang leaders, former drug addicts, and other local residents — can perform effectively in occupations which, in the past, were held only by licensed professionals The argument can be made that even the bachelor's degree could be dispensed with for grammar school teaching, if teachers have interpersonal and other skills which make them successful with young children Educational credentials, and especially graduate and professional degrees, may keep capable people out of high status jobs even when there are manpower shortages Unnecessary expansion of graduate programs and the requirement for graduate work, then, does not expand opportunity, but may do the very opposite, denying access to occupations to persons who have the necessary skills and ability to perform them

SUMMARY

In conclusion, the existence of graduate programs is crucially important for fulfilling the manpower needs of our society As occupations become more complex, the proportion of personnel requiring graduate training has increased To meet this increase universities have adopted an innovative role in society, particularly as the research arm of political institutions, which now require the services of a vast array of scientists and scholars To supply this new need, graduate programs have expanded

It was also noted that graduate enrollments have expanded far more rapidly than the technical and professional positions for which such programs are a preparation Other factors beyond the changing needs of the labor force have contributed to the growth of graduate schools These other factors include the individual's desire for social mobility and success through maximum education, reliance on educational certification of an individual's suitability for a job, thus imposing educational requirements for jobs where none existed in the past, and, finally, the pressure from many occupational groups to legitimize their professional status by higher levels of formal training

It has been argued that expanding the proportion of persons with graduate degrees beyond what occupational demands require has negative consequences and should not be encouraged This point may strike some readers as a highly unorthodox and perhaps reactionary one, since

education has long been heralded as the mechanism for bringing opportunity to an ever broader sector of society. Nevertheless, graduate education is not the answer to individual salvation or societal progress. There are serious personal costs involved in prolonging adolescence and over-educating people. In addition, formal educational training does not impart the really crucial skills and abilities required by many occupations, and therefore graduate schools cannot be relied upon to channel the most suitable persons into these roles.

Finally, excessive dependence upon educational credentials makes a person's early experiences in the school system crucial to adult success. The opportunity for later development and career mobility have already become highly restricted. Access to a good job and to a comfortable standard of living should not depend exclusively upon having attended graduate school. There are many important activities in private business, government, and social service which involve great responsibility and require highly able people, but for which a very specialized level of scholarship is irrelevant. It is pointless to waste the efforts of individuals and of the educational system by requiring further academic training merely to justify the rewards of high status, when such rewards could be granted on other than formal educational criteria.

Who Attends Graduate School

As already noted one of the major functions of the American educational system is status allocation. People are sorted into the various status levels of society primarily upon the basis of their education. The educational system is like a large, ascending conveyor belt which becomes narrower at each new level. Because there is room for fewer people at each new stage, some must be eliminated from the process, while others will be allowed to continue. The criteria for determining who drops out and who obtains further education are crucial in deciding who enters the high status positions in American society. Many studies have focused on factors influencing who goes to college, but only a few have examined the characteristics of students who obtain graduate degrees and, as a consequence become qualified for the highest professional and administrative positions.

TWO TYPES OF STUDENTS

A profile of graduate students enrolled in the spring of 1965 is presented in table 2. The continuous conveyor belt fails to describe the experience of a significant segment of the graduate population. The general assumption is that an individual moves from one stage of education

directly to another before entering adult status in society. But table 2 reveals that 56 percent of graduate students are enrolled only part time. Furthermore fully 45 percent are at least twenty nine years old. The cross tabulation (not shown) of these two characteristics indicates that 68 percent of those twenty nine years or older are enrolled as part time students. These statistics point to the existence of a substantial group of persons pursuing graduate work in mid career. They contrast in many ways with students who enter graduate school directly from college, before assuming a full time occupation. Any analysis of graduate school attendance is complicated by the presence of these two very different types of students.

In a national study of college seniors, James Davis studied the factors influencing plans for graduate school and the reasons for postponing graduate education. His findings confirm the general picture stated above. While 76 percent of these college seniors had plans for graduate education only 33 percent intended to enroll immediately following graduation from college. When asked why they were not continuing their education, 70 percent gave motivational reasons, such as being tired of school or wanting practical experience. However, most students also cited objective obstacles such as military duty, lack of money, or low grades. Nearly all students who applied were able to get into some graduate program, but obtaining a stipend was related to academic ability, and therefore it was the more capable students who continued their education immediately.¹⁷

Table 2 Selected Characteristics of Graduate Students

	Percent		Percent
Sex		Marital Status	
Men	70	Single, no dependents	35
Women	30	Single dependents	4
Age		Married, no dependents	20
23 and under	14	Married, dependents	41
24-28	40		
29 and over	45		
Race		Enrollment status	
White	96	Full time	44
Negro	3	Part time	56
Oriental	1		

Abridged from J. Scott Hunter, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, *The Academic and Financial Status of Graduate Students*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, spring 1955, table 2, pp. 8-9.

Career choice plays a very important role in determining if and when a person will attend graduate school. Not surprisingly, graduate or professional training is most likely to follow college graduation for those who choose such fields as medicine and law, where the degree is prerequisite to career entrance. Only about 50 percent of arts and science students plan immediate graduate work. High paying and challenging careers usually require some specialized graduate training. However, many arts and science students with bachelor's degrees find satisfying jobs in education, sociology graduates become social workers, science majors are employed in industrial laboratories, economic majors find work in business, and political science students enter the civil service. Many of these people will do graduate work later in the course of career advancement.¹⁸

Older graduate students seeking to enhance their careers by further study generally enroll in the smaller and less distinguished institutions. Two considerations play a part in this choice. There are relatively few major graduate schools in the country. For a person with a job, the convenience of attending a nearby school may outweigh the advantages of a more prestigious degree. Second, the academic records of part-time students, older students, and students in fields like education, tend to be inferior, on the average, to those of other graduate students. Such students may not be able to get into the higher quality schools and are probably the losers in competition for the financial aid necessary to pursue their studies full time.¹⁹

A very different, but roughly equal, group of graduate students conforms to the more general pattern of educational selection and to the more widespread image of graduate education. These students are in the final stage of acquiring skills and knowledge before entering their occupational or professional roles. An accumulation of judgments has deemed them suitable for admittance into the pinnacle of the American educational system.

ACADEMIC ABILITY

Persons who receive graduate education generally have high intellectual ability. In a study for the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, Dael Wolfe noted that graduate students in arts and sciences have an average IQ about 5 points higher than college graduates in general and that recipients of the doctoral degree average 12 points higher than the general college graduate. In fact, the median IQ of Ph.D.'s is equaled by only 7 percent of the general population.²⁰ These figures confirm the claim that the educational system is selective on the basis of intellectual ability, and that graduate education is largely for those of superior ability.

Graduate education is usually obtained by students with good college records. One study of students in a large state university found that 84 percent of men with a grade point average of B or better in their college careers intended to go to graduate or professional school. Five years later, 92 percent of them had actually obtained a graduate degree. Meanwhile, only 32 percent of those with C+ average had continued their education beyond the bachelor's degree.²¹

Nevertheless, not everyone of high ability pursues an advanced degree. Wolfe notes that only about 5 percent of male college graduates with an IQ equal to the average doctorate pursue a Ph.D.²² This state of affairs troubles some investigators and policy makers, who deplore what they see as talent loss. Critical shortages of educated people exist in some sectors of our society, yet there apparently are persons with the potential ability for advanced training who are not receiving it.

The problem of talent waste, however, is probably most critical at earlier stages of education, where able persons drop out of high school or fail to attend college. The situation regarding graduate education is quite different. Although many very capable people do not go to graduate school, their talents are not necessarily lost to society. Challenging positions have generally been open to persons with bachelor's degrees in fields such as government and business. Other fields, such as education and social work, do not require doctorates, but, nevertheless, teachers and social workers grapple with some of the most difficult problems in our society.

MEN AND WOMEN

Graduate school plans and careers differ between men and women. Table 2 shows that 70 percent of graduate students are men. Furthermore, while about half of these men are part time students, fully two-thirds of the women are enrolled part time. Davis's study of the college seniors also documents the more ambitious educational plans of men. While women actually received better grades in college, only 24 percent intended to enroll immediately after the bachelor's degree, compared to 39 percent of college men.²³ At the doctoral level, women are even less represented. Berelson notes that, in 1910, about 10 percent of doctorates were awarded to women. By 1957 this figure had increased to only 11 percent.²⁴

The traditional definition of a woman's major role as wife and mother is an obvious reason why fewer women have pursued graduate degrees. Several studies show that marriage has a strong impact on women's educational plans. Davis found that, among the academically top 20 percent of senior women, 36 percent of the single women planned to enroll in

graduate school, compared with 15 percent of those engaged and 23 percent of those married. Significantly, he did not find that marital status was related to the educational plans of men.²⁵

Another study²⁶ followed a sample of college students five years after they graduated from college. Once again marriage was not a factor in whether or not men carried out their plans for graduate education. However, many women abandoned their plans for graduate education if they were married within a year after graduation from college. One other finding is important. Of women who did not plan to obtain graduate education but who did not marry immediately after college graduation, about one fourth changed their plans and obtained a graduate degree by the time of the follow up study.

A second factor accounting for the lack of women in graduate programs is sex discrimination. Discrimination varies from subtle, institutionalized practices to blatant and deliberate efforts to discourage women from pursuing advanced degrees. The affirmative action programs currently in existence have probably eliminated most of these biases. Until recently, it was not unusual to hear of graduate admissions and awards committees passing over women who, on strictly academic grounds, should have qualified. Graduate faculty defended these practices as being educationally efficient. Years of experience observing women who entered graduate programs and then dropped out after marriage had convinced them that, even among the bright and highly educated, traditional sex role definitions are deeply rooted. Even the few women who did receive the doctorate tended to take routine jobs which allowed them time and energy for rearing children and caring for their husbands. A very small number made major contributions to their profession. Of course, discrimination against women in hiring may explain this fact as well.

However, women are currently insisting on their right to develop their potentials as individuals. The realities of contemporary family life, with control over the number and timing of children and equalitarian relations between husband and wife, have resulted in more women desiring careers of their own. Between 1960 and 1968 the number of men enrolled in college grew 76 percent while the number of women increased 117 percent.²⁷ The Office of Education reports that this trend has also occurred in graduate enrollments. Thus, in 1957, only 28 percent of resident graduate students were women compared with 34 percent in 1967. Based on these same trends, women are expected to constitute 38 percent of graduate students by 1977.²⁸

The effect of student deferments from the military draft must be added to this picture. The fact that between 1962 and 1967 the pro-

portion of men aged twenty to twenty four who were attending school increased from 23 to 31 percent seems to reflect the influence of the war in Vietnam on enrollment.²⁹ It must therefore be noted that the proportion of women in graduate school increased in spite of men's incentive to use graduate school to escape from military service. In 1968, graduate student deferments were abolished by Congress. Since then, the draft has been suspended and the armed forces depend solely on voluntary enlistment. A major reason for men to continue their education has been eliminated—and the effect may well be to increase the proportion of women in graduate schools.

As more women obtain graduate degrees, they will qualify for important positions in the American occupational structure. In fields such as medicine, social work, and scientific research, this may be a partial solution to manpower shortages. In professions such as law and academic fields like English, which are already overcrowded more trained persons will bring additional competition. A serious problem confronting American society is how to reconcile the value we place on equal opportunity with a structurally tight job market. Some argue that ability level and record of past performance provide the only fair basis for admitting a student to a program or hiring a graduate. Others believe that only affirmative action programs can bring equal representation to previously excluded groups. Perhaps the most poignant question is whether available opportunities should be reserved for minority men rather than for women married to upper middle status men. Is it the household or the individual which is the significant unit of stratification? There are no easy answers to these questions.

RACIAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND

An overview of who goes to graduate school must also examine the importance of race and socioeconomic status. An open society should provide opportunities to all persons irrespective of their racial or socioeconomic background. Yet, these factors obviously play an important role in educational attainment. Low socioeconomic status and minority group membership often result in discrimination in the classroom and the counseling office, lack of financial resources, and social and cultural influences not conducive to a high level of educational aspiration.

In his national study of college seniors, however, James Davis found only minor differences in the graduate school plans of blacks and whites. Interestingly, black students were less likely than whites to report motivational reasons for not continuing their education but more likely to report financial obstacles.³⁰

Nevertheless, according to table 2, only 3 percent of graduate students

were black in 1965. This percentage contrasts sharply with their 11 percent proportion in the total population. How is it that black college seniors are nearly as likely to plan to enter graduate school as whites, and yet blacks are so underrepresented in graduate education? The answer lies mainly in the fact that so few blacks get a bachelor's degree. Racial selection in the school system begins at the earliest stages, starting with the poor quality of schools attended and moving through the inadequate acquisition of basic skills, the informal biases operating in the classroom, and the encouragement of vocational as opposed to college preparatory courses. With few blacks going to college, even if the selection system operated without racial bias at the point of admission to graduate school, blacks would continue to be underrepresented in graduate education.

Fortunately, some far reaching changes have begun to occur at earlier stages in the educational system which should result in a greater number of blacks entering graduate and professional schools. Programs in high schools and colleges are aimed at increasing black enrollment in college by providing financial support and academic help where needed. By 1970, blacks accounted for 6.1 percent of undergraduate enrollment and 4.1 percent of graduate enrollment.³¹ A recent survey of graduate faculties in major institutions indicated a resistance to special programs for minority students at the graduate level, but considerable effort is being made to recruit and support academically qualified blacks. As greater proportions of blacks obtain a college education, it is hoped that continual increases will also occur in minority representation among graduate enrollments.³²

Persons of lower socioeconomic status are less likely to achieve higher education than those from more privileged backgrounds. One study shows socioeconomic status to be nearly as important as intelligence in accounting for which high school seniors aspire to college, which ones actually enroll in college, and which ones graduate from college.³³

However, the situation seems to change when it comes to graduate education. One study, which examined a sample of college seniors five years after the bachelor's degree, found men's socioeconomic background did not affect their chances of obtaining a graduate degree.³⁴ Davis found socioeconomic variables, such as parents' income, education, and occupation of the father, had a small relationship to the plans of college seniors to enroll in graduate school immediately after graduation. However, more students from poor families planned to continue at a later time. While low socioeconomic background may lead to the postponement of graduate school, it does not appear to be a serious factor in determining who eventually obtains graduate education.³⁵ As with race, the effect of this variable in determining the life chances of the individual

vidual apparently takes place earlier, in forming aspirations for higher education

A final observation must be made, however. No doubt one reason black students and college graduates from low status backgrounds have been able to pursue graduate degrees has been the availability of financial aid in the form of fellowships and research and teaching assistantships. However, recent cutbacks of student aid programs may well have the effect of closing the door of opportunity and increasing racial and socioeconomic bias in graduate enrollments in the future.

In summary, the ascribed characteristics of race and socioeconomic status are not serious influences in determining which college seniors plan to obtain graduate education. Nevertheless, racial minorities and persons from lower status backgrounds are underrepresented in graduate schools because of handicaps experienced earlier in the educational system. Men are more likely to enroll in graduate school, but the proportion of women seeking graduate and professional degrees is increasing. Academically able students and students in particular fields are most likely to continue their education beyond college. In particular, persons who intend to enter professions such as law and medicine and those pursuing physical sciences leading to research careers need a graduate or professional degree. Thus, the decision to go to graduate school is strongly linked to career decision, the major motivation behind graduate education is entrance to certain occupations. People in fields where advanced degrees are not required or women who get married and give up career plans are not likely to continue for a graduate degree.

MAKING THE DECISION

However, the decision to attend graduate school does not always stem from long term career planning. While some people plan many years ahead, others do not. Career decisions in the physical sciences or medicine have to be made early in college, because students must pursue a comparatively rigid curriculum aimed at entrance into the appropriate professional or graduate school. But for many students in the humanities and social sciences, selection of a college major still leaves them with a wide choice of occupations. Most students enter college with the expectation of four years of higher education, and many balk at the thought of extending their dependent, limited income status any longer. It is only when they become seniors and begin to explore job possibilities that the need for further education becomes apparent.

In a study of people who earned doctorates in 1957, Berelson found that only 35 percent had made their decision to obtain a doctorate by the time they graduated from college. Most, in fact, did not decide to

study for a doctorate until after they had earned a master's degree.³⁶ Graduate education, then, is not generally the result of long-term planning. More often the decision is made at the last minute.

Some graduate students have made no decision regarding an occupation, and they do not view their graduate education as preparation for a specific career. A few are attending graduate school because of sheer intellectual interest in their field of study. A surprising number, however, find it difficult to explain why they are continuing their education. For such students, a kind of inertia seems to be operating; they are continuing school more or less because they have always been in school and have performed well in school. To get a job they would have to leave the familiar routines of campus life.

Thus, some graduate students do not have well defined intellectual interests and they lack specific career goals. They are concentrated in the humanities and social sciences, in such fields as history, English, philosophy, and sociology, where the graduate program is least a preparation for a specific career. These students usually experience frustration in graduate school. Their lack of personal goals and interests makes it difficult to sustain their effort in highly specialized scholarship. In some graduate programs the number of students with poorly defined commitments is large enough to create serious problems and a sense of wasted effort on the part of both faculty and students.

Inadequate advising at the undergraduate level is partly to blame for perpetuating the uncertainties of adolescence. Students enter college with only general notions about career opportunities and the kind of educational background that would be most beneficial for a particular occupation. In taking courses the student gains some information about his own abilities and, particularly, which fields he enjoys most. These experiences are helpful to him in selecting a major. However, little effort is made to assist students in assessing their interests and abilities and in relating these to a career commitment. Too often, faculty view advising as a chore which interferes with their own activities. Consequently, they mechanically process students according to the minimum institutional requirements for graduation. It is no wonder that many students reach their senior year without having seriously thought about their future.

Universities and colleges fail to communicate information about graduate education to undergraduate students. Enterprising students can, of course, write for catalogues, visit various graduate schools, and otherwise try to make an informed decision about their future education. But, many students lack this initiative or are intimidated by the size and complexity of the higher educational establishment. A few outstanding

seniors may receive direct encouragement and advice. Other students are left to their own resources in deciding whether a graduate degree is important to them, what kind of degree would best fulfill their goals, and which schools would best meet their needs. The result is that many students continue their education for inadequate reasons or enroll in programs that do not satisfy their interests and goals.

Graduate schools should communicate their programs more effectively to undergraduates. Typically, the only effort now made is the distribution of colorful posters, listing the faculty participating in a program and naming the general areas of study. These posters are ineffective in helping students to decide whether they will find an outlet for their particular interest in a graduate program. Furthermore, no specific information is given them about the type of preparation they will receive and the career possibilities the degree will open for them.

Some graduate faculty feel that it might be best if students were not recruited directly from undergraduate school. They think it is futile to expect well defined interests and mature commitments from students who have had no serious encounter with life outside the school system. Graduate programs are relatively unstructured, placing a fair amount of responsibility on individuals for their own education. Students must be able to focus their activity in a narrow area of specialization. The motivation of the older student, who has more specific interests and goals, is more suitable than that of a new recruit from undergraduate college. However, universities would probably hesitate to refuse entry to graduating seniors. Perhaps changes at the undergraduate level could lead to a greater maturity among college students and the formation of appropriate motivations for pursuing graduate work. Maturity, after all, is not bestowed at a fixed age; it is a product of the individual's experience.

A new trend may be developing against this drift into graduate school. Some colleges have recently reported a significant drop in the proportion of their graduates entering graduate school. At the University of Pennsylvania, only 56 percent of its 1969 Arts and Sciences graduates enrolled in graduate school, compared with 87 percent of the class of 1967. Only 46 percent of Yale University's 1969 graduating class enrolled in further education that year, the lowest figure in a decade. Similar trends have been reported by the other Ivy League schools.²⁴ University administrators stress that this drop is due in part to the elimination of draft deferments for graduate students. Even so, student disenchantment with university life must also be recognized as a factor. Increasingly, bright undergraduates complain they are bored with

school, they wish to find some alternative to continuing their education immediately

The current tendency for most students to postpone their graduate study is a development that should probably be encouraged. Perhaps a few years of experience in the larger society will enable some students to crystallize their interests and to develop specific career commitments. When they do begin graduate work they will be better prepared than if they had enrolled immediately following their bachelor's degree. The graduate student body of the future may well be somewhat older and more mature.

Graduate Schools

Beyond the question of whether or not to seek a graduate degree, the student is confronted by the question of where to continue his education. As of 1966, there were 212 schools offering the doctorate.³⁸ While this may seem like a fair number to choose from, it is small in relation to the nearly 2,000 schools which offer a bachelor's degree. A central feature of graduate education, in comparison with undergraduate work, is its concentration in a relatively few centers of higher learning. Only twenty universities produce over 50 percent of all of the doctorates. Most schools have relatively small graduate programs, the vast majority of students attend the large universities.

Graduate education is in fact a relatively recent development in the United States. Harvard, Princeton, and Michigan had postbaccalaureate students in residence prior to the midnineteenth century, but they offered no formal degrees. American students interested in advanced scientific training sought their graduate degrees in Europe, primarily Germany. The first doctorates in America were awarded to three students at Yale University in 1861. After that, the number of American graduate programs grew rapidly in an attempt to establish American universities as major centers of scholarship. By 1900, close to five hundred graduate degrees had been awarded by American institutions, and approximately twenty-five schools were offering graduate education.³⁹

Traditionally, the Ivy League and a few other elite private schools dominated the production of graduate degrees, but as the American population expanded and the proportion of individuals seeking advanced degrees increased these institutions reached a ceiling on their enrollment. The large state universities, particularly the Big Ten, began to overtake the elite schools in the number of doctorates produced. While large size of public institutions has allowed them to surpass the pro-

ductivity of the private schools. Thus, in 1966 the top ten universities, in order of their doctoral output, were the University of Illinois, University of Wisconsin, University of California at Berkeley, Harvard University, Columbia University, University of Michigan, New York University, Ohio State University, University of Minnesota, and Stanford University.

The expansion of graduate programs is continuing. State universities in every state are attempting to build a graduate program to serve its citizens. Many teachers colleges are being transformed into state universities and graduate programs are being introduced. Many small private schools are also finding a demand for graduate work as more of their students desire to continue beyond the bachelor's degree.

The fundamental question, however, has already been raised earlier in this chapter. Is the current expansion of graduate enrollment and the concomitant increase in the number of programs really necessary and desirable? Many people in higher education question the wisdom of having more schools conferring graduate degrees.⁴⁰ There is a feeling that new programs tend to be in newer, smaller, and less distinguished institutions which are not equipped to offer the same quality of training as the older and larger schools. The fact that graduate education has been so concentrated in a few outstanding universities is seen as advantageous. The concentration of work in schools with similar facilities and of similar quality has meant that graduate training has had a uniformity not found in undergraduate education. The quality of graduate degrees is felt to be jeopardized as inferior schools begin to offer graduate education.

A graduate degree must continue to represent advanced training and, especially, first hand experience in basic research. In the abstract, this ideal is not incompatible with the expansion of programs. But universities initiating graduate schools do face difficulties. An important problem is the self fulfilling nature of the reputation of a school. If a school is not well established, it has difficulty recruiting faculty with a serious commitment to research, it suffers in the competition for research money, it has less success in obtaining fellowship and training programs for students, and it is less likely to attract talented students. In contrast, the well-established school routinely obtains financial support, the best faculty, and the most qualified students. All these differences in competitive ability perpetuate the existing quality distinctions.

The policies of the government and of other funding agencies aggravate this situation. When the government initiates a research program, whether in defense work, population control, or the evaluation of poverty programs, resources are likely to be channeled to those

schools which already have substantial research facilities and established reputations At the same time, newer schools are likely to be passed over in favor of older and larger ones when student fellowships or training grants are distributed In this manner, with schools as with individuals, the rich get richer while the poor are not offered the means for their improvement A common experience among the less well established state universities, for example, is the rejection of proposals by federal funding agencies on the basis of a lack of research projects or an inadequate number of graduate degrees awarded However, without financial support, it is difficult to meet these criteria Thus, the policies of the government tend to perpetuate the status quo among schools

As a consequence, the smaller state universities, for example, are forced to operate with fewer resources Their plans to become major centers for research and graduate study remain more promise than actuality One adaptation is to become a "degree mill," that is, to attempt to gain a reputation as a graduate school by a high level of degree productivity Producing doctorates, it is hoped, will spread the reputation of the school and establish it as a recognized center of study A high rate of production also will bolster its case for more government support for research and student aid

In view of the current overproduction of doctorates and the inability of the labor market to absorb the products of graduate schools in the foreseeable future, many experts are urging restrictions on graduate enrollments The federal government is reducing its support for research and student aid Many fellowships and trainee programs are being phased out of existence⁴¹

The present situation represents a serious threat to maintaining the quality of graduate education All programs are facing a reduction of resources The shortages are aggravated by the existence of more and more programs competing for a shrinking pie A recent study of programs in sociology, for example, indicated that most of the established, prestigious departments were facing the situation by reducing their enrollments However, the smaller and less distinguished institutions anticipated continual expansion Thus it appears that a greater proportion of graduate students will be prepared by those institutions least equipped to provide a rigorous, research based education⁴²

Why are the poorest quality institutions expanding their graduate programs at a time when it appears to make little sense to do so? The proliferation of graduate schools reflects institutional ambitions and organizational needs A graduate program increases the prestige of an institution Opportunities to supervise graduate students and to hold advanced seminars are inducements for attracting a good faculty, thus

adding to the bargaining power of an institution in the academic marketplace. In addition, graduate programs involve the possibility of research projects which bring more money to the university and permit the expansion of facilities. Thus, the profusion of new graduate programs does not necessarily reflect a need for more schools, but rather reflects the organizational goals of individual schools.

These organizational reasons for expanding graduate programs are indefensible in view of the present crisis in higher education. However, if the shortage of resources and the oversupply of graduate trained persons did not exist, a further question could be raised as to whether newer institutions, if given resources and facilities, would conduct programs of a quality comparable to those at established institutions. A strong argument can be made that they would indeed do so. Reputations of schools vary considerably between established schools such as Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley, and the less well known private and state universities at the other end of the continuum. Such a wide variation is probably not justified by the objective characteristics of the faculties at these schools. We do not deny that differences exist between schools, but these differences probably are not nearly so great as the reputations would indicate.

In the first place, because graduate work has been so concentrated in the major schools, the faculties in less known schools are, typically, products of the major universities. While the best graduates are recruited by the most prestigious schools, the graduate training of these faculty members is not qualitatively different from the training of those in less distinguished schools. Secondly, differences between institutions have been reduced by mass communications, rapid transportation, and professional meetings at which intellectual issues are quickly disseminated. New approaches and theories find their way into the less known schools as rapidly as they are adopted in established ones. A comparison of the reading lists and courses from school to school reveals a remarkable overlap in sophistication and content.

Currently, however, there is considerable variability in the prestige of schools.⁴³ Not surprisingly, this variation influences the distribution of students among schools. It also affects the allocation of students from schools into the labor market. The better students go to the most prestigious graduate schools. Thus, in 1959 60 percent of the Woodrow Wilson Fellows and nearly 75 percent of the National Science Foundation Fellows entered the top twelve universities, although these universities accounted for only 35 percent of the total doctoral enrollment in the nation.⁴⁴

A more recent study⁴⁵ shows that the academic performance of stu-

schools which already have substantial research facilities and established reputations. At the same time, newer schools are likely to be passed over in favor of older and larger ones when student fellowships or training grants are distributed. In this manner, with schools as with individuals, the rich get richer while the poor are not offered the means for their improvement. A common experience among the less well established state universities, for example, is the rejection of proposals by federal funding agencies on the basis of a lack of research projects or an inadequate number of graduate degrees awarded. However, without financial support, it is difficult to meet these criteria. Thus, the policies of the government tend to perpetuate the status quo among schools.

As a consequence, the smaller state universities, for example, are forced to operate with fewer resources. Their plans to become major centers for research and graduate study remain more promise than actuality. One adaptation is to become a "degree mill," that is, to attempt to gain a reputation as a graduate school by a high level of degree productivity. Producing doctorates, it is hoped, will spread the reputation of the school and establish it as a recognized center of study. A high rate of production also will bolster its case for more government support for research and student aid.

In view of the current overproduction of doctorates and the inability of the labor market to absorb the products of graduate schools in the foreseeable future, many experts are urging restrictions on graduate enrollments. The federal government is reducing its support for research and student aid. Many fellowships and trainee programs are being phased out of existence.⁴¹

The present situation represents a serious threat to maintaining the quality of graduate education. All programs are facing a reduction of resources. The shortages are aggravated by the existence of more and more programs competing for a shrinking pie. A recent study of programs in sociology, for example, indicated that most of the established, prestigious departments were facing the situation by reducing their enrollments. However, the smaller and less distinguished institutions anticipated continual expansion. Thus it appears that a greater proportion of graduate students will be prepared by those institutions least equipped to provide a rigorous, research based education.⁴²

Why are the poorest quality institutions expanding their graduate programs at a time when it appears to make little sense to do so? The proliferation of graduate schools reflects institutional ambitions and organizational needs. A graduate program increases the prestige of an institution. Opportunities to supervise graduate students and to hold advanced seminars are inducements for attracting a good faculty, thus

To do so, they try to recruit their own best undergraduates. Unfortunately, this practice is not always in the best interest of highly able students, who would greatly improve their career chances by pursuing graduate work in a top rate institution.

Choice of school affects not only the prestige level of job possibilities, it also determines the type of training the student will receive. To a much larger degree than students realize, the graduate school one attends has a permanent imprint on the type of work one will do in one's professional career. In many fields, even among schools of the same quality, there are substantial differences in intellectual orientations and in the methods of inquiry which are preferred. A person is trained, then, not merely as a political scientist, a philosopher, or a psychologist. In addition, graduate work molds the individual into a particular type of professional, concerned about specific kinds of questions and trained in particular techniques of scholarship.

Most students come to reflect the orientation of their department. But some have a difficult time because their goals are not compatible with the type of training they are receiving. For example, a student with a strong interest in clinical psychology may enter a department where only experimental work is considered legitimate. A political science student wishing to prepare for the foreign service may, instead, become bogged down in statistics courses or studying American voting patterns, because the department has a behavioral orientation. Such conflicts may frustrate the student and may result in academic failure. The presence of misplaced students in a department also creates an organizational problem because of the difficulty in providing for diverse interests among students.

In summary, graduate programs are about one hundred years old in the United States. In recent decades their number has greatly increased in part because of the need for graduate trained persons but also because universities gain resources and prestige from graduate programs. However, the current situation is one of overproduction of degrees and declining resources. Continual expansion, especially by the less distinguished schools, is threatening to lower the quality of graduate education and is creating a crisis in the job market in many fields. Finally, schools differ in their prestige and their intellectual orientations. These differences affect the training and opportunities of students more than students realize at the time they choose their graduate school.

The Graduate Program

Because graduate programs differ considerably from school to school and between departments within schools, it is difficult to summarize their

dents in college, as well as the quality of their undergraduate colleges, are important in determining which graduate schools they enter. Since both academic ability and socioeconomic status background heavily influence a person's choice of college, these variables indirectly bear on the quality of graduate education obtained. Thus, a wealthy student, able to attend a prestigious college, will be more likely to enroll in a major graduate school than a poorer student of equal ability.

Students' career opportunities are limited by their selection of a graduate school. Several studies⁴⁶ support the generally held belief that an individual cannot rise above the institution which grants the doctoral degree. In view of the varying quality of institutions, it is informally understood that the best graduate schools do not train students for the same positions as do the poorer schools. The concept that has been used to describe this process is "sponsored mobility" or "sponsored status allocation." The best college students are recruited by the best graduate schools, where they are prepared for allocation into the best jobs. Likewise, mediocre students are admitted by the less prestigious schools and are prepared for less distinguished positions. Thus, while there has been a proliferation of graduate programs, with an increase in lower quality schools, it is still true that those entering the most prestigious jobs receive their training in the traditionally distinguished institutions. A system of sponsored mobility appropriately trains and places persons among schools that differ markedly in quality.

Of course, there are some limits to the effectiveness of this system. It is not true that all the brightest students go to the best schools nor that all the products of the best schools are the most competent scholars. As a result, some individuals are handicapped by having degrees from low prestige schools, when in fact their personal ability is such that they could perform well in a high level position. Particularly tragic is the possibility that an individual's socioeconomic background may limit access to a prestigious school. Lack of financial resources may make it difficult for low status students to leave their home towns for an Ivy League school or one of the major state universities. The consequence is a graduate education which qualifies them only for less distinguished opportunities. The effectiveness of the system in providing opportunities for the most able students can probably be improved by more adequate financial aid and better counseling.

Students should realize that, in choosing a place to do graduate work, they are limiting the range of jobs which will eventually be available to them. Unfortunately, the ambitions of many less distinguished schools lead them to obscure this consideration for the student. These schools often wish to improve their prestige by producing impressive scholars, but they have a difficult time attracting good students.

self-education In secondary school, and in college as well, students learn primarily through passive experiences Successful students learn to absorb what they are told, to take efficient notes and to memorize them, to follow directions in doing assignments, and to meet specific deadlines set by their professors Learning occurs essentially by conforming to authority, and success is achieved by working within the structure of a syllabus A student who was successful under these conditions, however, may have difficulty when faced with the expectations of graduate education, where students are rewarded for their originality and their ability to evaluate ideas

Finally, the conception of the graduate student as an independent scholar—ascetically pursuing an intellectual life—is not very realistic In the first place, students are in graduate school for a variety of purposes, and for many scholarship as an end in itself has little appeal In particular, students who want careers outside academia, in a mental hospital, for example, or in the foreign service, may find the faculty abstract and irrelevant to their interests⁴⁷ Furthermore, graduate students are not hermits on a desert island but continue to live in society They maintain social relationships and institutional involvements outside their role as students Many face the obligations of a family or an outside job These activities easily intrude on the time the individual is supposedly using for independent, unguided scholarship Thus the individual freedom permitted in graduate school does not always serve the educational purpose for which it is intended

American graduate programs are becoming more structured in order to maintain high quality and improve efficiency Many believe that more required courses and specific time schedules would enable students to complete their degrees sooner and with greater assurance of having mastered the fundamentals of their field Professional schools, for example, have more structured programs They give students little leeway in what they study or in the timetable for their work, and, typically, there is less evidence of procrastination and floundering than in academic fields Others argue, however, that this trend is regimenting graduate education and undermining the preparation of students for independent scholarship⁴⁸

MAJOR FEATURES OF GRADUATE PROGRAMS

Graduate programs today consist of course work, examinations, and research—a program that can take from three to ten years Entering students generally face a set of required courses which cover the basic techniques and knowledge in their field Subsequently, they are free to take seminars which focus on highly specialized topics The master's

characteristics and the emerging trends. The following discussion probably reflects most accurately the situation in the social sciences and does not pretend to be comprehensive. The focus will be on the academic disciplines rather than professional education. Professional schools are oriented toward preparation for specific careers, such as social work, medicine, law, and the ministry. These programs typically emphasize course work and memorization of highly specialized facts and principles which equip the student to function competently as a professional. Sometimes, as with field assignments in social work and the internship in medicine, the person is given practical experience to supplement the academic side of his preparation.

EMPHASIS ON INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH

Academic graduate programs, in contrast, are concerned with training scholars rather than practitioners. Students are given maximum freedom to read widely in their fields, to develop their own interests, and to engage in research. There are relatively few specific requirements made of them. The burden of evaluation comes at the end of the process, when they must demonstrate their mastery of the field in comprehensive examinations, and their accomplishment as scholars in their theses. But, prior to this time, students are largely responsible for themselves.

Unfortunately, freedom and flexibility often result in faculty irresponsibility and student abuse. On the one hand, the faculty use the value of "individual scholarship" as an excuse to justify their own lack of involvement with graduate education. The blame is placed on the student who fails rather than on the courses in the curriculum or the lack of faculty guidance. In other words, the faculty tend to define graduate education in a way which absolves them of the responsibility for the quality of education.

On the other hand, the large degree of freedom given students to pursue their intellectual interests is often abused. Graduate students, far more than undergraduates, fail to finish papers, and therefore get a grade of "incomplete" in their courses. Qualifying and preliminary examinations are rarely taken at the earliest possible date but are postponed time and again because students are unable to meet their own schedules of preparation. Master's theses and doctoral dissertations drag on for months and years as students waver between topics and build elaborate excuses for their lack of progress.

The reasons for the low scholarly activity among many graduate students are not hard to imagine. As noted earlier, many graduate students lack well defined intellectual interests. Likewise, the experience of most students prior to graduate school has not prepared them for individual

Traditionally, courses have played a minor role in evaluating graduate students. Instead, emphasis has been placed on examinations administered by the department. The least important examinations are generally the defense of the master's thesis and the defense of the doctoral dissertation. Typically, the student has been under the supervision of a committee during the writing of the thesis. Major decisions have generally been discussed with the faculty and have received their approval. Thus the defense is something of a ritual, plus a chance for the faculty to probe the student's knowledge to determine whether he/she sees the work in a larger intellectual context and can articulate ideas.

The master's comprehensive and the doctoral preliminary examinations are the most critical points in the career of the student. These examinations are intended to establish the qualification of the student for the degree in question. They may be either oral or written and in many cases are both. In some programs they are of several hours duration, while in others, students are examined for days, testing not only their intellectual development but also their psychological and physical stamina. The decision to allow a student to continue toward the degree rests on the outcome. Furthermore, the faculty use these examinations to form their impressions of the skills of the student, impressions which become a basis for their later recommendations in the job market.

For the student, failure to pass these examinations carries the threat of having expended time and energy in graduate school without having gained access to a high level professional career. The level of anxiety among students before their preliminary examinations is higher than at any other point during their graduate career. Also, these examinations are generally faced by a group of students and, therefore, have a social character. Failure brings the additional stigma of having done worse than one's peers, this unpleasant possibility emotionally loads the examination situation even beyond the already great objective importance it has. One adaptation to this stressful situation is to postpone the examination as long as possible.⁴⁹

The nature of the examinations further contributes to this anxiety. The examinations attempt to assess the overall scholarly competence of the student. The student is expected to display broad knowledge of the field, sophistication in handling issues, and the ability to perform in a manner indicative of professional maturity. Students often complain that the comprehensiveness and diffuseness of these expectations provide little guidance for preparation.

Consequently, students expend much effort to discover how faculty define the preliminary examination. Past examinations and experiences of other students often help to make the task of preparation more manageable. Individual faculty are quizzed for advice, and reading lists

degree is usually earned in one or two years, when the student has completed a thesis and has passed a comprehensive examination. If students are accepted into the doctoral program, they generally are expected to take a few more courses and additional seminars. The major effort, however, will be to prepare for another set of examinations, the doctoral preliminary examinations or "prelims," as they are called. One or two language examinations may have to be passed. The doctorate is finally earned when a student completes the dissertation, an original scholarly work and successfully defends it in an oral examination. Each of these activities — courses, examinations, and research — involve issues in graduate education and are currently undergoing change.

Course work does not occupy the same importance in graduate education as it does in undergraduate or professional schools. When graduate programs become more structured however it generally means increasing the amount of time students devote to formal course work. A problem in many schools is competition between undergraduate and graduate programs for faculty teaching time. Many schools resolve this problem by allowing graduate students to enroll in a certain number of undergraduate courses. Unfortunately, these courses seldom expose the student to the primary sources and abstract, technical issues that should be the concern of graduate education. The quality of a program will suffer to the extent that it allows this practice.

The first year graduate student generally takes courses which survey the important literature in his field, introduce the basic issues, and demonstrate the techniques of investigation. But the heart of graduate education is found in seminars that are narrowly focused on specific topics. They offer an opportunity for serious individual scholarship, where students can pursue their interests and present their ideas for the evaluation of their peers. Attention is devoted to expanding the frontiers of a field rather than to surveying the work already done.

Unfortunately, seminars are often disappointing. Any course based on student presentations of their research seems bound to sink toward the level of its poorest participants. Students have difficulty producing high quality research during the limited time of a course, particularly in an age when significant research requires a vast amount of resources, use of computer facilities, preparation of elaborate experiments, or collection of a large body of data. As a consequence, many seminars have abandoned the format of asking students to present original research. Instead the professor may ask the students to read a set of books on a specialized topic and class time is used to criticize and evaluate them. However, when seminars eliminate student research, they also reduce training in individual scholarship which is, after all, the primary goal of graduate education.

search from the beginning of graduate school. However, it is doubtful that the elimination of the master's thesis has been beneficial in other fields, such as social sciences. Too often, students in these programs arrive at the dissertation stage of their work without having had any prior research experience.

A reasonable compromise in some programs is to eliminate the burden of a lengthy master's thesis but to require a master's paper in the format of a professional journal article. This requirement introduces the student to practical research skills. The project, however, is kept small in size, often being an extension of a seminar paper. Even a modest project of this sort can equip students with enough knowledge of the research process so that they can approach their dissertations with greater confidence and efficiency.

The doctoral dissertation embodies the final evidence that the student has arrived at professional status and is capable of high quality individual scholarship. The doctoral dissertation is intended to be a professional study making an original contribution to the field. In many cases it forms the basis for the person's first publishable work.

Yet questions are even being raised about the contemporary relevance of these expectations. Dissertations notoriously focus on trivial, esoteric problems, applicable to almost nothing. Thus, students in English or history often must devote several years to examining the work of some obscure figure or minute event in the past, in order to make an original contribution to their fields. The result may be a highly scholarly work but it may also be one which has little relevance to most students' goal of college teaching.

In other fields good research is possible only with a prohibitive investment of time and money in elaborate experiments, field study, or the collection of survey data. Doctoral students are not in a position to command these resources, nor is it reasonable to expect them to devote the number of years required to begin a project from scratch. Consequently, many a dissertation is not really an individual effort, but represents some portion of work a student has done on a large, on-going project supervised by his major professor.

Finally, the length of dissertations is being criticized. They often include a long overview of the literature and digress into issues only tangentially related to the immediate research problem. In contrast to the dissertation, scholarly writing in many technical fields is usually very concise, requiring a minimal examination of past work, focusing instead on the presentation of specific data and their implications. The format of a short technical article may be a more appropriate way of demonstrating scholarly competence than the traditional dissertation.¹¹ Some people

are scrutinized for clues as to what might be asked. In some programs, students are permitted to choose their examining committees, and thus can limit the areas in which they can expect to be questioned. Other programs, recognizing the difficulties of the situation, allow students to concentrate their study in a few areas. Such examinations more closely approximate actual professional behavior. No professional scholar pretends to have comprehensive knowledge of all areas of a field.

In fact, there now seems to be a fundamental attack on the examination system. With the information explosion and increasing specialization in all fields, comprehensive examinations are becoming harder to justify. As a result, more graduate departments are establishing degree programs based on required core courses that cover the major literature in the field. Core courses can provide the basics of a graduate education more efficiently and thoroughly than programs that require students to prepare themselves for examinations through individual study. In these departments, serious questions are being raised about the need for examinations at all, and in some instances, the core courses have completely replaced comprehensive examinations.⁵⁰

However, the goal of graduate education is advanced training for scholarly research, and neither courses nor examinations accomplish this objective. The major research experience takes place in the preparation of the thesis. This, more than any other aspect of graduate education, approximates professional activity. It is the thesis which gives students an opportunity to bring together their knowledge, their own reflections on some problem, and their skills of scholarly inquiry. Many students say writing their thesis was the most valuable part of their education. In the actual process of doing research, students often develop a greater understanding of how research problems are formulated and investigated, and they become more sensitive to the limitations of research methods.

Traditionally, the graduate student has been required to write a master's thesis as well as a doctoral dissertation. The doctoral dissertation is expected to make an original contribution to the field, while a master's thesis need not do this. However, many schools have abandoned the master's thesis as being unnecessary and redundant. In fact, a number of departments, particularly in the physical sciences, have eliminated the master's degree altogether. In these departments, students are immediately immersed in research which will lead directly to the dissertation. An intermediate degree and thesis are seen as unnecessarily prolonging the student's training.

The elimination of the master's degree and the master's thesis can probably be justified more easily in the physical sciences than in other fields, since science students generally devote considerable time to re-

it is not clear that a high degree of compulsion to work devotedly in the absence of immediate results is necessary for competent performance in every professional role.

In general, people engage in behavior that brings them rewards, and they tend to minimize activities that are met with indifference from others. There is much in the relationship between faculty and graduate students that can be manipulated to increase the motivation to work. The interested and attentive response of a faculty supervisor can provide positive feedback and rewards making continued effort seem worthwhile to the student.

All too often, once the course work and the doctoral examinations are completed, students are left to their own resources and the faculty feel little obligation toward them. Students report many instances in which months pass without any inquiry from faculty regarding their work. And, even worse, when a chapter of the dissertation is submitted to a professor for comment he may take many months to respond, and in some cases does so only after considerable prodding. This kind of faculty indifference seriously affects students' motivation to work and their attitudes towards their research.⁵⁴

The fact that the important interpersonal involvement is often absent stems in part from competing demands made upon faculty. Much has already been made of the fact that faculty receive little professional recognition for their teaching. Only if such recognition is given will they invest greater effort in the classroom. Likewise, greater accountability for the supervision of graduate students would improve the quality of graduate education.

Faculty accountability must begin with the recognition that the failure of graduate students to complete their degrees cannot be blamed solely on the student. For the most part, the students who enroll in graduate school have the intellectual ability and the initial motivation to become competent scholars. If their ability fails to materialize and their motivation dissipates, poor teaching, meager opportunity for stimulation and creativity, and faculty indifference, may, in fact, be to blame.

Faculty should be required to submit regular progress reports on their students, including time schedules anticipated for completion and steps taken to help the student meet these schedules. When a student fails an examination, the faculty supervisor should be required to submit an analysis of the factors which contributed to the student's failure and a suggested strategy for improvement. The supervisor should also be expected to comment on inadequacies in the graduate program that might have contributed to the student's lack of preparation. Regular feedback would thereby be available regarding the effectiveness of various courses.

would object, however, that much of the intellectual integrity of the dissertation would be lost if it became a mere technical exercise, unrelated to larger intellectual contexts. A compromise between these two positions seems to be emerging, as dissertations in many fields become noticeably shorter.

The dissertation is a formidable barrier to obtaining the doctorate. The doctoral preliminary examinations generate more anxiety because of their comprehensive nature and the importance of a performance lasting only a few hours. But many students who pass their examinations never receive a doctorate because they do not complete their dissertations.

A number of factors play a role in student attrition. Some students are accustomed to working only in response to outside pressure. Without such pressure they find it nearly impossible to muster the intrinsic motivation necessary for completion. Procrastination and escape are the final undoing of many ABD ("All But Dissertation") students. Furthermore, the dissertation is an open mandate to students to pursue their own interests, but they may not have well defined academic interests and may flounder for years searching for a topic or moving from one topic to another. Of course, students who are attached to a faculty research project may not face this difficulty. Probably a higher percentage of such students complete their dissertations.

Quite typically, students prolonging this stage of their work eventually take on regular employment with the intention of finishing their graduate work on the side. Inadequate financial support from the graduate school may force them into this decision.⁵² Besides, many students are anxious to earn a regular salary and to take their place in the adult community. However, once away from the faculty and facilities of the university, academic work becomes more difficult and the degree may seem to be less important. The numerous diversions and responsibilities entailed in regular full time employment lead many students to abandon their plans for the doctorate entirely. Sometimes such persons find that they have satisfactory careers without a higher degree.

Many professors still view graduate education as individual scholarship, where the student carries the burden of preparation and training. Little responsibility is seen as resting with the graduate program and the structure of student-faculty relations. In fact, the notion that students bear all the responsibility for their training is too simple. It may be true that many students have difficulty motivating themselves to work without immediate pressures and short term rewards. But there are, in fact, few persons in our society who are faced with such a demand. Our major institutions, including the family and school system, do not condition people to display this extent of self sufficiency.⁵³ Furthermore,

work to be required, and the proper credit for the student's contribution to the project. Once again, what is suggested is an infringement upon faculty prerogative. But unbounded freedom for faculty, unfortunately, often means freedom to pursue their narrow interests, and allows them to remain indifferent to the educational value of the activities for students.

A different issue concerns the nature of education in graduate programs heavily involved in major research projects. Writing in 1959, Berelson reported that 60 percent of graduate faculty and recent recipients of the doctorate believed that the source of research funds has too much influence on graduate programs. If anything, this situation has become even more serious in recent years.⁵⁷

More specifically the issue is professional socialization versus scholarly education. The student with a research assistantship has an opportunity to learn professional norms and skills as an apprentice to a professor. But, because of the high involvement in an ongoing project, the student may not become an independent scholar, capable of generating research problems, and critically aware of the broad intellectual issues in the field. The fact that the assistant's graduate work is based on problems inherited from a faculty project means that the student does not have much intellectual freedom.⁵⁸

Undoubtedly, there is some validity to this criticism of contemporary graduate education, but professional training and scholarly education are not necessarily antithetical. While students' work may be restricted to a few research problems, it is possible for them to be made aware of broader issues in the particular field at the same time. Students should not receive a degree for a narrow empirical accomplishment. They should be expected to formulate problems in terms of major issues in their field, and they should be critically aware of the intellectual as well as the technical limitations of the particular project on which they are working.

Large research projects also have created a moral problem, in the view of many faculty and students. The image of the detached scholar has given way to the image of the technocrat in the research institute, supported by special interests and studying problems serving these interests. The war in Vietnam, never popular among academics, caused many to realize the extent to which research in both the physical and social sciences was supported by the federal government, especially the military. Faculty had gladly accepted the opportunity to administer large research budgets for pursuit of their professional goals and careers. Little thought apparently had been given to the probable use of their work.

At the same time many students and professors have been anxious to employ the intellectual resources of the university for social change.

In summary, controversies and problems can be found in every phase of graduate education, including the nature and structure of the curriculum, the importance placed upon comprehensive examinations, and the research training provided by the master's thesis and doctoral dissertation. Suggestions have been made as to which trends and what solutions seem most likely to preserve graduate education as the rigorous and scholarly preparation of intellectuals and scientists.

RESEARCH AND TEACHING ASSISTANTSHIPS

For many students graduate education involves professional training beyond the formal requirements leading to the degree. Most notably, research and teaching assistantships involve students in activities of a quasi professional nature. Here they gain experience and skills which will be useful in pursuing their professional careers. Through their duties as assistants they learn many of the informal norms of the profession and develop an image of themselves as professionals.

Research assistantships are concentrated in the physical and the social sciences, where departments have major research projects. The abundance of government or foundation money enables these departments to hire a high proportion of their graduate students for research jobs.⁵⁵ There is much that is educationally ideal about the resulting apprentice relationship between these students and their faculty advisers. Students gain first hand exposure to basic research and the practical skills of their profession by direct example from the faculty. Furthermore, the faculty project provides the students with intellectual issues which can form the focus of their work in graduate seminars and constitute the basic research for their theses.

However, research assistants are also subject to abuse because of the power differential between students and faculty. Since faculty control the educational and professional fate of students there is a very real potential for exploitation. Berelson⁵⁶ found that 46 percent of 1957 doctoral recipients in the sciences felt that they had been exploited by their professors. For example, there are reports of students making major contributions and even writing books for professors without receiving due acknowledgment. Furthermore, the heavy demands placed on some students interfere with their ability to make more normal progress towards the degree. A different kind of exploitation occurs when students are expected to do "leg work" for the faculty which is without educational value. The student becomes simply cheap labor and not an apprentice to the research process.

Perhaps the solution to these problems is to establish guidelines for the kinds of duties assigned to the research assistant, the amount of

A frequent complaint of teaching assistants concerns inadequate supervision by the faculty. Heiss found that only 37 percent of teaching assistants in her survey held regularly scheduled meetings with their faculty supervisors.⁶² In fact, teaching assistants seldom receive any training for their duties. Most faculty view graduate help as a convenience for themselves, freeing them for other professional activities. To ask them to become involved in any substantial way with training their assistants would seem an unwelcome negation of the whole reason for having assistance.

Unfortunately, few departments have followed Berelson's suggestion in 1960 that academic departments offer their graduate students an optional course in college teaching.⁶³ The presumption has been made in higher education that effective teaching is not dependent upon methods of instruction but on the knowledge of the instructor. However, knowledge of one's field does not guarantee the ability to communicate this knowledge in an organized and comprehensible way to the uninitiated student. Most prospective college teachers would probably benefit from some formal training in organizing their field for teaching, weighing the relative merits of different approaches considering the factors involved in students' learning, and acquiring the techniques of grading. The current crisis over the quality of college teaching may finally lead to such preparation.⁶⁴

Some mention must be made of the impact of teaching assistantships on undergraduate education. As noted above, graduate students receive little preparation for their jobs and little supervision of their teaching. Furthermore, they are often handicapped by having to work within the confines of the professor's course, rather than being able to pursue their own interests in the classroom. Undergraduates are often dissatisfied with them. The fact that teaching assistants are closer to students in age and status apparently does not make up for their lack of experience as teachers and their limited exposure to the subject matter. There are also instances where graduate assistants are more punitive than professors. Being a graduate student entails many frustrations and anxieties. Unfortunately, some assistants misuse their authority by venting their frustrations on undergraduates. Thus, teaching assistantships provide many benefits for graduate students—financial, educational, and psychological—but not for undergraduates.

It should be evident by now that graduate students are likely to experience considerable stress. Berelson found that 90 percent of doctoral recipients were pleased with their training in graduate school and with their eventual jobs, but half complained that the doctoral program entailed unnecessary anxiety.⁶⁵ These reports come from those successfully

completing their work—but the actual extent of psychological strain is even greater when the large number of less successful students are taken into account.

Fortunately, graduate students do not stand alone in facing the challenge and discomforts of graduate education. A subculture and student community provide group support in coping with the academic, marital, and social problems of the student. Graduate students are able to find status and appreciation in the eyes of their peers at a time when they cannot achieve recognition in the larger society. While their meager financial resources and the burden of their studies limit their access to the usual comforts and activities enjoyed by Americans, the graduate school context provides alternative forms of gratification and freedom from structured activities, a rigid schedule, and many norms which impinge on persons in the larger society.

In addition, the student subculture is closely articulated with the formal graduate program. The student community socializes the new student into the norms, folkways, and mythologies of being a graduate student. Advice and collective support aid the student in confronting the difficult task of obtaining a scholarly education. The characteristic beliefs and perceptions of graduate students, their anxiety and paranoia, their game orientation towards the graduate program, their cynicism towards scholarship, and their irreverence toward the faculty are understandable responses, providing welcome support in a situation of stress and powerlessness.

Nevertheless, some students become so committed to the student community that they are diverted from working towards their degrees, others are misled or hampered by their uncritical acceptance of the doctrines of the student subculture.

Conclusion

Many aspects of graduate education have been explored in this chapter. Nevertheless, the variability between individual programs and fields, the limited research available, and the restrictions of space preclude a definitive, comprehensive picture. The growth of graduate education, and the manner in which this growth reflects our economy and political system were described. An overview was given of who goes to graduate school and for what reasons, and of the types of schools offering graduate degrees and the significance of attending one kind of school rather than another. The steps required of students in obtaining the degree, including courses, examinations, and research, were reviewed, as well as the role of teaching and research assistantships in providing professional

training Finally, the impact of graduate education on the life of the student was briefly discussed

None of these topics has been explored to its limit A general description of the current situation was presented and probable future trends were noted The problems inherent in every aspect of graduate education were explained and an attempt was made to suggest reasonable solutions Nevertheless, many of the problems in graduate education are likely to continue, and the suggestions made are unlikely to be instituted

For example, it is improbable that enrollments in graduate education will stay in line with the actual training needed for various occupations, or that we shall reverse the trend toward a credential society Nothing in the experience of students is apt to instill in them more mature motivations before they enroll in graduate school a prolonged adolescence is likely to become more typical rather than less typical in our society Nor can colleges seriously be expected to institute elaborate advising procedures for enabling students to engage in earlier career planning, make an earlier decision regarding graduate education, and select more carefully a graduate program in line with their ability and goals Graduate faculty are likely to remain indifferent toward teaching and toward their students' work and graduate education will probably continue to entail undue anxiety for the student

Perceiving problems and making suggestions is quite different from instituting solutions These problems are not the product of intentional conspiracy but stem from the fundamental structure of power and priorities in our society They are a normal consequence of our technological requirements and political goals our emphasis on individual mobility and occupational success, the professional ambitions of various organizations and the entrenched interests of privileged schools and of graduate faculty Many problems of graduate education will remain unsolved because the solutions would involve changes in our society more fundamental than the problems themselves

While no dramatic transformations seem imminent, there is no reason to despair Institutions persist even though they are imperfect, this is true of the family, church and government as well as of graduate education It is only in the ideal models of sociologists that problems seem always to demand a solution In fact the overall functioning of graduate schools seems quite satisfactory Enough students are trained to fill most of the manpower needs of our society And the prevailing level of expertise among our scientists and intellectuals is high enough to suggest that the quality of graduate training is adequate

In addition, there are many innovations in graduate study aimed at

alleviating less desirable procedures. For example, many schools have eliminated foreign language requirements, which were a major hurdle, producing much anguish for the student of yesteryear. The relatively small size of a graduate department gives it some flexibility and responsiveness to gross injustices, so that there probably will be continual progress in the training of advanced professionals and technicians. And, certainly, while basic changes in structure and priorities may not be around the corner, an awareness of such problems as credentialism, overeducation, prolonged adolescence, the maintenance of privilege in higher education, and a lack of faculty commitment to their students, may at least bring greater understanding and, in individual cases, a sensitivity to those being affected.

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ADULT EDUCATION: DEFINITION, DESCRIPTION, AND ANALYSIS

JACK LONDON ROBERT WENKERT

In our emerging postindustrial society, prevailing conceptions about education are due to change Up to the present, we have typically thought of education as being for the young Its purpose was to socialize the young and to prepare them for adult roles, as citizens and as productive participants in the world of work Given this focus, most of our attention and most of society's financial support have gone to the formal system of education — to elementary school, high school, and college programs In the mass media, discussions about education have focused almost exclusively upon the young This preoccupation with the education of the young is based on an increasingly dubious assumption if the formal system of education does its job well, then students can complete their education before the adult years and before their entry into the labor force This assumption prevails even though we are confronted with a virtual explosion of knowledge, an acceleration in the pace of change, and a growing awareness that it is difficult, if not

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arts subjects such as literature, music, and the arts. Almost everything is included, from the profane to the sublime

METHODS

Adult education methods are also varied. They include correspondence courses, apprenticeship, on-the-job training, internship, formal classes, discussion groups, conferences, lecture series, and more complex approaches such as community development. The techniques used include panels, forums, demonstrations, projects, discussions, workshops, teaching machines, computers, and other mechanical devices. The activity itself may extend over a few days, as in the case of some workshops and conferences, or it may continue for a long time with changing curricula and diverse participants.

INSTITUTIONS

Perhaps the greatest source of ambiguity is the variety of organizations sponsoring adult education activities. In addition to formally defined educational institutions there are museums, libraries, industrial organizations, labor unions, professional societies, military establishments, hospitals, religious bodies, trade associations, federal, state, and local governments, prisons, and different kinds of political, charitable, social, civic, ethnic, and other community organizations. While some of these consider adult education to be their central function, the overwhelming majority utilize it as a means of advancing other goals.

To summarize, adult education activity includes the most varied kinds of organizational structures, purposes, methods, techniques, and participants. This medley presents itself to the public with a diffuse or opaque character—it hardly seems to have any definable attributes, being something like a jumble—and even those conversant on the subject find it a challenge to talk about it intelligibly. This entire chapter is an attempt to define and describe adult education, to indicate its connection with formal education, to analyze its place in American society, and to explicate future trends.

Historical and Comparative Reflections

The historical roots of adult education give us a clearer understanding of the present situation. An early motive for adult education, following the Protestant Reformation, was concern for man's salvation; adult education was often limited to the religious sphere. However, secular efforts to promote education for adults appeared in the sixteenth century in

impossible, for anyone to have a complete education upon graduation from the formal educational institutions. It is apparent that continuing educational opportunities must be available throughout the life span. Indeed, present trends suggest that soon the number of persons engaged in some form of adult education will exceed the enrollment of the young in schools and colleges.

The Invisibility of Adult Education

This development has been largely invisible, partly because the education of adults is not considered a central part of society's educational venture. Adult education continues to be viewed as a secondary or marginal educational activity even by the formal educational institutions that engage in it.¹ Its visibility is further obscured because most adult education is sponsored by noneducational organizations—churches, businesses, industries, community groups, voluntary associations, and government (including the military).² The instruction provided by these organizations is usually intended to further their own distinctive aims rather than to be a public educational service. In addition, these activities may not be defined by the sponsors or by the recipients as educational. An example of such instruction is on-the-job training, by which a manufacturer instructs new employees in their work. The expenses involved in such training may not be carried in the accounts as "educational," and the training is usually very informal. Nevertheless, expenditures on such activities are large, and the benefits tend to be educational.³

STUDENTS

The relative invisibility of adult education may also be partly attributed to its remarkable diversity. Potentially, its clientele consists of the entire adult population. This is an extremely varied collection of people, in the United States, it includes a great number of ethnic and nationality strains, each with somewhat different interests. There is also regional and class diversity, and there exist smaller groupings of people who may share an identity and a distinctive life style. "The entire population" also includes a wide age range, in contrast to other levels of education that can be more easily defined by age grading within narrower limits.

COURSES

The subject matter of adult education is also exceedingly diverse, encompassing such subjects as professional and technical education, literacy, religion, personal development, speed reading, crafts, and liberal

disparate institutions Attempts to provide some coordination and a semblance of a national movement did not emerge until after World War I

PURPOSES

While motives for promoting the education of adults were mixed, the important ones were the desire to achieve salvation, to transmit the skills needed for the new occupations emerging out of the industrial revolution, to promote social action, and to strengthen and extend the forces of democracy.⁶ In Britain, Denmark, and Sweden, the focus of adult education was nonvocational, the primary goal was the full development of the individual, including greater involvement in political activity. Even today, the British limit the term *adult education* to liberal education, undertaken by adults without regard for direct vocational benefit. Education of a vocational or technical character is referred to as *further education*. In contrast, the American idea of adult education includes all forms of education for adults, whether it be vocational, remedial, recreational, liberal, technical, professional, religious, or family-life education. All are included under the same rubric, and in this chapter we are following the American convention.⁷

SCOPE

If we examine adult education in the United States today, we are still faced with this eclectic, all encompassing approach. Adult education covers virtually all areas in which more knowledge and skill are needed to assume adult roles in today's complex world. The rise of the small, nuclear family has promoted the growth of home and family life education.⁸ The increasing interest in do-it-yourself activities, resulting partly from increased leisure and affluence but also partly from the stultifying and routine character of many jobs, has stimulated programs relating to hobbies and recreation. The growing importance of academic requirements for job selection and promotion has increased the demand for programs giving certificates, degrees, and diplomas. Other areas of growth have been in religion, such as the Layman's School of Religion in Berkeley, California, in personal development, including sensitivity training, leadership, physical fitness, self defense, and skills such as speed reading and public speaking, and in public affairs and politics. While work, leisure, and family interests continue to dominate adult education programming, there is also interest in liberal education. Programs to liberate people from conventional or traditional modes of thought and behavior are flourishing, partly as a reaction against the impersonality of mass society, the growing influence exercised by cor-

Great Britain as a reaction against the rigidity of schools and universities which failed to include new discoveries in their curricula⁴

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MASSES

Whether the idea of adult education first occurred to early man, to the ancient Greeks, or during the Renaissance is a moot point which will continue to be debated⁵ Our interest is in the factors which contributed to the development of adult education in the modern world The industrial revolution is certainly of prime importance, since it undermined the relatively static society in which everyone was expected to know his place and to stay within it The authority of tradition was the dominant motif of formal education, which was limited to a small and elite segment of the population Adult education arose to expand the educational opportunities of the mass of people, who were called upon to assume new roles in the emerging industrial societies of the West

In the nineteenth century, an important motive for adult education was the extension and strengthening of democracy This took various forms, such as the development of folk schools in Denmark, social reform movements in Sweden, extramural programs and the Workers' Educational Association in Great Britain, and a variety of institutions in the United States These were established in part to transmit knowledge, skills, and values to the mass of people who had little prior opportunity for education

THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, adult education has firm roots extending back several hundred years Many groups, organizations, and institutions arose to promote the growth and diffusion of knowledge among adults, probably the best known being the men's club organized by Benjamin Franklin in 1727 for the discussion of ideas and current events Many evening schools existed under private auspices before the Revolution The plethora of voluntary associations noted by Tocqueville functioned to educate adults and to promote social action By the 1830s, there were hundreds of subscription libraries, reading rooms, debating clubs, lyceums, and other lecture series directed toward the education of adults The first public evening school was established in 1810, followed by New York City in 1833, and, in the West, San Francisco in 1856 The first evening high school came into existence in 1856 in Cincinnati Popular institutional forms for nineteenth century adult education were the lyceums, started about 1826, Chautauqua, about 1872, women's clubs, following the Civil War, and correspondence study programs The nature of the American experience led to the creation of a variety of

TWO ASSUMPTIONS We conclude that prevailing conceptions of adult education contain two implicit assumptions (1) adult education takes place in an organized context, and (2) its mandate as an educational endeavor stems from the purposes of the organizers of that activity. In current views, adult education is more likely to be defined from the perspective of those who organize and offer the service than from that of the people who are assumed to benefit from it.

Given the existence of these assumptions, we can understand why some activities engaged in by adults for educational purposes are not ordinarily counted as adult education. For instance, upper middle class Americans have a long tradition of traveling to Europe to broaden their education, and people of lower status are now following their example. Yet, even though the purpose of travel may be educational, travel is not considered to be adult education except when undertaken as part of a systematic program of study under the auspices of a formal organization.¹⁰ Another example is book-reading. Although reading may be undertaken for a great variety of reasons, at least some leisure-time reading is done for the purpose of self-education. Yet, such reading is not ordinarily included under the heading of adult education. In contrast, reading these same books in a Great Books Discussion Group is considered adult education activity.¹¹ These different classifications of essentially similar activities result from the reasons suggested above. Private reading does not take place in an organized context, whereas reading for a Great Books group is an organized activity defined as educational by its organizers.

Travel and private reading are examples of activities which are not defined as adult education even though they may be engaged in by adults for educational purposes and may have educational consequences. Examples of the obverse are also easily cited: an activity may be officially considered to be a part of adult education, but its participants may not be engaged in it for educational purposes. This situation exists even in formal educational institutions, where many students enroll to be with friends, to find spouses, or to please their parents. Yet, the fundamental consideration in defining such institutions as educational agencies is their purpose as it is defined by their organizers and largely supported by public opinion.

DUBIOUS VALIDITY How valid are the two assumptions explicated above? Are they useful in a modern context? We would suggest that they are at least arbitrary even now and will be seen to be even more arbitrary in the future. They rest on a widespread confusion wherein education is held to be equivalent to schooling, despite the common sense observation that the private pursuit of knowledge is often more educative than participa-

porations and the military establishment, the increasing impact of technologies that seem no longer to be under human control, and a decreasing satisfaction with work as presently constituted. Later in the chapter we shall describe some of these new programs in detail. There is also continuing interest in liberal education more conventionally defined, since America is becoming an urban and well schooled nation in which the importance of a liberal education is presumably more apparent.

Parameters of Adult Education

Despite the great diversity that characterizes adult education, it does not include everything. We can specify its parameters, and, in doing so, we shall come upon the implicit beliefs or underlying assumptions that are in current use about adult education specifically and about education generally. In the very first paragraph of this chapter we warned that some of the prevailing conceptions of adult education are becoming less valid as society and educational institutions change in structure and function. The belief that a person can complete an education by graduating from the regular school system is only one example. Here we examine other such assumptions. Since adult education includes beliefs about both education and adulthood, we shall address two questions: (1) What are the defining characteristics that make an activity *educational*? (2) What are the prevailing conceptions of *adulthood*, or, to cite a specific instance, why is education for higher degrees attended by students who are legally and in most other respects adult, not considered adult education?

THE CONCEPT OF "EDUCATIONAL"

To address the first question clearly, those activities defined as educational can be so defined either according to their purpose or their consequences. At least potentially, all human activity can have educational consequences, in the sense that any activity can inform and be enlightening to its participants. If adult education were to be defined in terms of function, we would have to include all of social life as part of adult education.⁸ In practice, adult education is defined in a more limited fashion, namely, as referring to those activities the primary *purpose* of which is to educate. Whose purpose is being referred to? By themselves, activities do not have a purpose, since purpose is lodged in human beings. To say that certain social activities have the purpose of educating is merely a shorthand and partly misleading way of saying that these activities have been organized by some person, or group of persons, for the purpose of educating.

are already considered legally to be adults. The right to vote in presidential elections has been granted to eighteen-year-olds. Such legal definitions, however, do not apply to organizations which educate people over twenty-one, or over eighteen. The teaching in graduate schools, for example, at which the majority of students may be adults legally, is not generally held to be adult education. The concept of adulthood used in adult education is therefore not chronological but social.

To illustrate this point further, we can refer to notions of adulthood in the psychiatric perspective, in which chronological age is also not a major criterion. The main determinant of adulthood is the ability to exercise harmonious control over one's actions. Thus, regression is perceived as a return to childish modes of behavior and may occur regardless of the age of the adult patient. Pathological defense mechanisms, in which people are driven to act without being held responsible for their actions, also imply a lack of harmonious control and also may occur regardless of a person's age. Indeed, in such cases, the psychiatric and legal perspectives meet on common ground, since patients can be committed to a mental institution without their consent, because it is assumed that they have no control over their own actions. In this sense, they are not considered adult.

INDEPENDENCE If age is not the major criterion used to establish adulthood, then what criteria are used? As we see it, these are twofold: (1) from the individual's point of view, adulthood means independence; (2) from the societal point of view, adulthood means acceptance of social responsibility.

These rather cryptic statements need clarification. Independence usually takes the forms of marriage and financial self-support. Adolescents move out of the families which reared them and, by marriage, create new families for whose welfare they are held responsible. Their primary loyalty shifts to their new family, and the coming of their own children symbolizes adulthood, both psychologically and socially. At the same time, financial independence is achieved when they enter the labor force on a full-time basis.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY The societal point of view merely represents the other side of the same coin, and is symbolized by the individual's ability to assume what are generally considered as adult roles. These are the family roles—husband and wife, father and mother—and the work role of full time participation in the labor force. In this sense, retired workers would also be considered adult since they have already fulfilled their societal obligations.

This view of adulthood explains the prevalent conception of adult

tion in packaged forms of instruction To be educated surely means to be alive to ideas to inform oneself on current issues, and to keep abreast of important developments in the arts and sciences, both practical and theoretical While organized educational activities are certainly important in this context, equally important is the ready availability of books, magazines, radio and television programs, and an enlightened press so that the average citizen has access to vital information Thus, we would consider Ralph Nader's publications to be an educational venture since he and his research groups have uncovered information which was not easily available and which can lead to more intelligent decisions Adult educators have conceived of their field too narrowly They have allowed themselves to become imprisoned by the prevailing assumptions To the extent that they constitute an independent pressure group, they ought to lobby for a free and enlightened press, for television programs with more educational content, and generally for wider distribution and easier availability of informative materials¹²

Ironically, businessmen seem to have developed a better grasp of the possibilities and are encouraging as well as taking advantage of the current growth in self education We refer to the growing market in what might be called, for want of a better term, *packaged self education* One can now buy "lifetime reading plans," "art seminars in the home," speed reading equipment to be used in self instruction, different types of teaching machines and programmed texts, tape recorders, and a host of reference books for home use A recent advertisement states, "This new home learning program improves your powers of listening to help you learn more earn more, understand more" This development is not new, having been pioneered by the encyclopedias and such packaged educational items as the Harvard Classics This type of material may become increasingly available and may come to be a substantial part of the total adult education in the United States At present, however, such activities are usually not included under the general rubric of adult education¹³

THE CONCEPT OF "ADULT"

The concept of adult education contains ideas and perspectives about both education and adulthood Notions about adulthood which are implied in prevailing views on adult education must also be examined and tested for appropriateness

AGE The term *adult* as it is used in adult education does not refer to chronological age, as it does in its legal meaning The right to enter into a contract, a legal right reserved for adults, begins at clearly specified ages, in some Southern states, males of sixteen and females of fourteen

signed for, or attended principally by, persons who have terminated their formal education "¹⁶ Yet, this distinction between formal education and adult education is ambiguous today and is likely to become even more so in the near future. We may have to discard this distinction, as well as prevailing conceptions about adulthood that sustain it. New developments have made the distinction less viable, and we shall mention five such trends.

The Increasingly Ambiguous Distinction Between Formal and Adult Education

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN CRITERIA OF ADULTHOOD

First, while some characteristics of adulthood are moving down in the age scale, others are moving up, so that discrepancies between different criteria are increasing. On the one hand, a larger proportion of college students, both graduate and undergraduate, are married, have children, and are at least in part self supporting, often because one of the married pair works full time in order to finance the other's education. On the other hand, a larger proportion of students is staying in formal education longer and going for higher degrees, so that the termination of formal education can occur in the middle and late twenties. Of all the university disciplines, the field of education holds the lead in this regard during the 1960s, the average age at which a doctoral degree was obtained was thirty eight, considerably above the age of consent. A factor in this trend is the state of the American economy, which seems unable to provide adequate employment opportunities for young adults; they therefore tend to go into higher education as the most palatable alternative available to them. Thus college students are generally taking on more adult characteristics, and the distinction between adult and formal education is thereby being eroded.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN COLLEGE

A second development which makes the distinction ambiguous is the use of formal educational institutions as in service training agencies for the professions. This is already an established procedure in the teaching profession in which salary increases may depend on enrollment in evening or summer courses in colleges and universities. It is becoming more common in law, medicine, engineering, and business administration, in which knowledge and skills change rapidly so that the practitioners may fall behind without continuous formal training. In many instances, industry may organize its own in service training programs and conduct its own classes but may utilize formal educational institutions as supplementary sources of training.¹⁷ Clearly, if these programs were conducted

education as part-time education. There is nothing in the process of education itself, or the programs offered, which requires adult education to be part-time. This conception stems from the assumptions that an adult is a person engaged in full-time work and that his education is therefore necessarily part-time.¹⁴ Actually, adult education can also be full time. Because of economic dislocations and the obsolescence of many occupations, wholesale retraining of personnel may be needed. Retraining programs, such as those authorized by the Manpower Developing and Training Act of 1962 and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, with their subsequent amendments, tend to be full time rather than part time, because the participants cannot find employment. Although such retraining may become an increasingly important part of adult education, at the moment it represents only a small proportion of the adult education programs offered to the public.

END OF FORMAL EDUCATION What about the role of formal education in connection with the attainment of adulthood? It has been assumed that full time students, or young students working toward a degree even if they do not attend full time, are not yet adults. This assumption may have been realistic in the 1950s when college students engaged in panty raids and other childish pranks, but it is becoming increasingly inappropriate today. At many colleges and universities, students were "protected" by special provisions for housing, special rules about moral and ethical behavior, and leniency regarding drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and malicious mischief, and they received preferential treatment from law enforcement agencies. In return, students were still viewed as preparing for adulthood rather than as having attained it, as long as they restricted their behavior to noncontroversial and playful activities. In the 1960s, many students were no longer satisfied with this bargain. Claiming adult status, they pressed for an effective voice in college and university affairs, for changes in educational curricula and practices, and for elimination of the *in loco parentis* rule as no longer befitting a modern university nor the contemporary students within it. In reaction, college and university administrators reduced what had been their benevolent paternalism without, however, honoring the students' claims to adulthood. Paternalism continued, but became less benevolent.

We have suggested three criteria for adulthood implied in prevailing views about adult education: marriage, financial self support, and termination of formal education.¹⁵ In the literature on adult education the last criterion is the most frequently mentioned when attempts are made to distinguish adult education from other educational activities. The U.S. Office of Education, for example, in its nationwide surveys of college and university adult education, defines adult education as instruction "de-

signed for, or attended principally by, persons who have terminated their formal education "¹⁶ Yet, this distinction between formal education and adult education is ambiguous today and is likely to become even more so in the near future. We may have to discard this distinction, as well as prevailing conceptions about adulthood that sustain it. New developments have made the distinction less viable, and we shall mention five such trends.

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by private agencies they would be classified as adult education. As part of the regular curricula of the universities, however, their status is ambiguous, except when they are offered by university extension divisions and are clearly defined as adult education. The professions are among the most rapidly increasing occupational categories of the labor force, and we have only begun to feel the educational impact of their growth.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

A third development is the provision of what would ordinarily be adult education in junior colleges, increasingly called "community colleges." Enrollments in these colleges are growing more than in any of the other formal educational institutions. In 1970, a year of financial crisis for education, community colleges were established at the rate of at least one a week. Some of this increase is in terminal training such as cosmetology, automobile mechanics, electronics, TV repair, printing, carpentry, and other kinds of techniques and skills. Ordinarily, such training would be considered part of adult education or part of the vocational high school program, but it is now shifting into the regular curriculum of formal educational institutions such as the community colleges.¹⁸

Many students who are enrolled in community colleges are actually adults, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between adult and nonadult community college students. To some extent, therefore, community college is becoming an in service training institute for the skilled and technical trades, just as universities are in service training institutes for the professions. There has been some dissatisfaction with attempts by community colleges to fit all curricula into a day school mold for adults and adolescents alike. In part, this conversion is made for financial reasons, since more state money is given for daytime programs. The recent administrative transfer of the San Francisco Adult Education Program to the junior college district provided more than \$700,000 additional state aid to the district. In this way, the regular curriculum often becomes the standard for the education of adults as well as full time students. If present trends and practices continue, the distinction between adult education and formal education will become especially ambiguous in community colleges.

COLLEGE CURRICULA FOR ADULTS

A fourth development is the creation of special curricula for adults in colleges and universities. The Radcliffe Institute for Individual Study pays adult women a stipend for their household help so that they can devote full time to study. The University of Minnesota has a special program for

adult women who desire to return to school, they can study in the regular curriculum, extension division, by correspondence, or undertake independent study. The University of Oklahoma has established a bachelor of liberal studies' degree for adults. Brooklyn College has developed a special program in which mature adults can work toward degrees through the regular college program and in special seminars at a pace consistent with their responsibilities, certain work experience and past achievements are evaluated for granting college degree credit.¹⁹

This trend toward making full-time study part of the regular college curriculum will, we think, gather momentum because of other developments in American society. Women are a major factor. The number of college educated women is rapidly increasing, but after graduating from college many women marry instead of entering the labor force. Coincident with the increased number who go to college, there is a tendency to marry younger, to have fewer children, and to space children more closely, so that many women are free to enter the labor force by the time they reach the early forties and have grown children who do not require attention at home. The Radcliffe program was especially designed for such women, to give them refresher courses so that they would be rapidly brought up to date and could then profitably use their prior college education. The trends in age of marriage, number of children, and spacing of children suggest that this pool of available womanpower will increase, and some formal educational institutions have already recognized this fact by providing for adults in their curricula. The growing importance of credentials in American society will also lead to more programs for adults. We are seeing only the beginning of this trend.²⁰

BLENDING PRESERVICE AND ONGOING TRAINING A fifth development, implicit in our previous comments, has been the reduction or elimination of any distinction between preservice and adult education. Preparation for an occupation can include only a small and declining part of the knowledge of a particular technical or professional field. A recent Carnegie study stated the issue clearly:

Rather than long extended formal education in advance, more jobs require some basic skills and knowledge in advance and then a willingness to keep on learning and opportunities to learn. Some occupations and professions, such as those of engineers, doctors, and lawyers, now require, and will increasingly require, periodic formal updating of knowledge. Also, more people experiment with several occupations during their lifetime and need more opportunities to learn new skills—the shift of the woman from the home to the labor market in the middle of her life is one important illustration. Life styles also have changed. More people want more variety in their lives through travel, hobbies, and cultural interests, and they want continuing opportunities to acquire new

skills and knowledge. Thus it would seem wise to space formal education over the lifetime reducing the amount of time spent on it early in life and spending additional time on formal education [or adult education] later in life as desired and as needed.²¹

Given these social trends, the distinction between formal and adult education is due for revision. To the extent that they remain separate, these two modes of organizing educational services may be seen as alternatives available to adults who desire further education. The invidiousness of the distinction—the view that adult education is peripheral, marginal, or unimportant and that formal education is somehow the central educational institution—will have to be discarded since it no longer adequately represents educational reality. To the extent that the two forms of education merge the distinction itself will become obsolete, and education will come to be regarded as a recurrent resource to which people can turn at any time in their lives, as the need arises.²²

Patterns of Adult Education Participation

In the public mind, adult education is often thought of as a primarily remedial activity, designed to reduce the gap between those adults who have educational deficits and those who are educationally advantaged. It is conceived as a patching up operation to counteract the inequalities resulting from the unequal distribution of formal education in the adult population.

SOCIAL CLASS

In fact, as national studies show, the obverse is true: those who are most advantaged are also most likely to participate in adult education programs. Such programs, in their entirety, thus serve more to buttress or to increase rather than to counteract existing educational inequalities.

In the 1962-1963 National Opinion Research Center study, which is the most thorough and systematic national study of adult education participation ever done in the United States, the median amount of formal schooling among adult education participants was 12.2 years as contrasted to 11.5 years in the total sample.²³ This difference is more sharply expressed by differential participation rates: only 4 percent of adults with no formal education were enrolled in adult education programs, as compared with 47 percent among those who had more than sixteen years of schooling.²⁴ Occupational status also affected participation rates: 17 percent of blue collar workers as compared with 32 percent of white collar workers participated in adult education activity. The effects of family income exhibited a similar pattern of participation.

rates were 12 percent among those with an annual family income under \$4,000, 20 percent in the \$4,000-6,999 group, and 29 percent among those with a family income of \$7,000 or above²⁵ These influences were partly independent and cumulative.

Taken together, the impact of all three factors [education, occupation, and income] was enormous: a person who had been to college, who worked in a white collar occupation, and who made more than \$7,000 a year was about six times more likely to have been engaged in learning pursuits during the previous year than a person who had never gone beyond grade school, who worked in a blue-collar occupation, and whose family income was less than \$4,000 a year.²⁶

Thus, paradoxically, those adults who might be assumed to be in most need of further education are in fact underrepresented among adult education participants.

BARRIERS TO WORKING CLASS

On the basis of our own study of the relations between social class and adult education, we concluded that this underrepresentation was partly attributable to certain pervasive myths about the lower class strata.²⁷ One is the widespread belief that blue collar workers are naturally apathetic and generally uninterested in the larger society. A second myth asserts that workers are not capable of any sustained intellectual effort and are therefore unlikely to benefit from adult education. A third myth holds that lower class persons lack an interest in education and do not appreciate its value. A further myth maintains that if a person is not schooled early in life, then he can never profit from any educational endeavor. Finally, there is a widespread belief that people lose their ability to learn with increasing age. While existing evidence refutes all these myths, they continue as obstacles to the participation of blue collar workers in adult education.

In our study we also identified a variety of other obstacles. Methods of advertising adult education programs and activities indirectly discriminate against working class adults, who tend to get their information from peers, acquaintances, or neighbors rather than from the mass media in which many of the advertisements and announcements are placed. We also found that many workers feel inhibited by what they consider to be the high cost of adult education, even in communities in which charges are low or nonexistent. A substantial proportion of blue collar workers believe that they are too old to go back to school, and some express a worry that they would appear childish to their friends if they were to attend classes in the same buildings used to educate their children. To a considerable degree, earlier unfortunate experiences in school

have led to feelings of incompetency. Finally, increasing one's chances for job promotion is a ruling motive for adult education among a substantial number of participants, to the extent that blue collar employees have fewer promotion opportunities than those in white collar occupations, their rate of participation is thereby adversely affected. All of these factors, taken together, result in an underrepresentation of working-class persons in adult education activities.

AGE

A second and equally pronounced pattern is the overrepresentation of the relatively young and the underrepresentation of the aged. In the National Opinion Research Center study, the median age of participants was 36.5, more than six years younger than the median age of the total sample. Over half of the participants were under forty and almost four-fifths were under fifty. Participation rates varied sharply, ranging from 29 percent among those in their twenties to 4 percent among those in their seventies or older.²⁸ A later national survey, conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in May 1969, indicates a similar pattern even though the actual figures are different, perhaps reflecting differences in the questions asked or the period studied. The median age for participants was thirty-four years, as contrasted with a median age of forty-six years for nonparticipants. About three-fourths of the participants were under forty-five years old.²⁹ Participation rates varied by age, ranging from 18 percent among those in the seventeen to twenty-four and twenty-five to thirty-four age groups, to 14 percent among the thirty-five to forty-four group, to 9 percent among the forty-five to fifty-four group, to 4 percent among the fifty-five to sixty-four group, to 2 percent among those sixty-five years or older.³⁰ In general, these findings can be summarized as showing that the closer one is to the age at which one's formal education terminates, the greater the likelihood of participation in adult education activities. This pattern suggests to us that adult education programs may function as a kind of halfway house or linkage between the knowledge and skills attained during one's formal education and the knowledge and skills most useful for full participation in societal affairs. We shall discuss this idea later in another connection.

The Learning Force and the Labor Force

Because of the relatively hidden and extremely diverse nature of adult education, people tend to underestimate its size and importance. Both are increasing, even to the point of challenging the monopoly which the formal educational establishment now has over public resources devoted to education. The importance of adult education is suggested by the

number of adults pursuing some form of systematic study. This number has been growing rapidly and is expected to increase even more in the near future. Given these increases, actual and projected, prevailing ideas about education have to be rethought so that all forms of education, youth and adult, can be integrated into a scheme appropriate for a postindustrial society.³¹ To show the emerging configuration, we shall make two comparisons: (1) between the relative sizes of the labor force and the learning force, and (2) between the relative sizes of formal education and adult education enrollments.

The *learning force* may be defined as consisting of all people engaged in systematic learning. This is a tremendously large group of people, enrolled in three types of educational contexts. First, there are the formal educational institutions, including preprimary, primary, secondary, undergraduate college, and university graduate schools. Second, there are all those who are enrolled in job related educational programs, including vocational, technical, and professional training offered outside the formal educational institutions, training carried on in business, industry, and the armed forces, and part time programs for adults given in the extension departments of the formal educational system, in proprietary schools, and by correspondence. Third, the learning force includes all enrollees in the remaining adult education programs regardless of sponsorship. Adult education combines the second and third categories. To be on the conservative side, we have excluded those who are engaged in self education without organized sponsorship; this group is sizable, estimated by the National Opinion Research Center to include slightly under nine million people.³²

Comparing this learning force with the labor force, we find that the labor force was larger until about 1960. After that, the learning force exceeded the labor force in size. While both had been growing since the 1940s, the rate of growth of the learning force was greater than that of the labor force. By 1965, the learning force was considerably larger than the labor force, and even sharper increases were estimated for the 1970s, when the learning force is expected to number 148 million. This estimate suggests, parenthetically, that one indicator of a postindustrial society may be the relative sizes of the learning and labor forces, characterized by the emerging and increasing dominance of the former. It also indicates the likelihood of a substantial shift in the relative sizes of the constituent elements of the learning force during the middle 1970s; enrollments in adult education programs are expected to exceed those in the formal educational institutions by about 12 million,³³ with an estimated 80 million people in adult education and 68 million in formal education.³⁴

These comparisons indicate that a new educational system has arisen,

apparently providing important services not provided by the formal system of education. This new educational system is relatively invisible and marginal in terms of the attention and the public resources devoted to it. Nevertheless, its sheer magnitude demands a rethinking of society's use of educational expenditures and patterns of instruction. There are also other grounds for reassessing current views about adult education, and we turn now to consider the place of adult education in American society and the kinds of societal functions it performs.

The Functions of Adult Education

Adult education formed gradually and rather chaotically in the United States, without overall planning and in a decentralized fashion, to meet educational contingencies as they arose. This mode of growth has had some beneficial consequences. Organization and content can be easily changed to meet the demands of the moment, new programs can be devised for special circumstances and undertaken by many types of organizations. In contrast, formal educational institutions have heavy investments in capital goods, have become committed over the course of time to relatively stable constituencies, are under considerable pressures to teach specified subjects, and generally have less room for maneuver or innovation. They are not as flexible nor as decentralized as the organizations that conduct adult education activities, the latter can create a new activity almost as soon as they can find a person to be in charge of it and a group of people who have an interest in the activity and the money to pay the fees, if any. As a result, adult education has served as a testing ground for the formal educational institutions: courses in new subjects are organized in various parts of the country, and when they prove to be of sufficient interest and usefulness to large numbers of people they can be adopted by formal educational institutions. Examples of such adoptions have already been given: the movement of terminal vocational training into the junior colleges, and the movement of professional in-service training into the colleges and universities.

While these are activities that can be undertaken by both formal and adult education organizations, thereby representing those instances in which the two might merge and be indistinguishable, other activities are likely to remain under the province of adult education. These can be classified according to the various functions that adult education fulfills in the larger society at present and is most likely to continue to fulfill in the future.

EDUCATING VICTIMS OF DISLOCATION

First, adult education has been concerned with education made necessary by economic, social, or political dislocations. Earlier in the century, it was involved in citizenship and Americanization training for large masses of immigrants. Today it is more likely to take the form of re-training people who have lost their jobs because of occupational obsolescence or who have never been able to secure a satisfactory job because of adverse economic conditions, insufficient education, lack of relevant training, discrimination, and other factors. Such special educational contingencies will continue to arise in the future, since the economy is changing so rapidly that skills taught in the formal educational institutions may, to some extent, be outdated by the time the student graduates. Population shifts from rural to urban areas, from one region of the country to another, and rapid changes generally undermine the usefulness of information received during the regular school years.

REMEDIAL INSTRUCTIONS IN BASIC SUBJECTS

A second task handled by adult education is the remedial function. Instruction in literacy or help in securing a primary school certificate or secondary school diploma are of major importance in this area. About one out of every seven high school diplomas in the State of California is earned through an adult program.³⁵ An estimated seventeen million people eighteen years of age and older have less than eight years of formal schooling; they represent about 13 percent of all adults.³⁶ The Adult Basic Education program supported by the federal government has helped almost two million adults to improve their knowledge of English, reading, and writing, in order to become eligible for job training or employment.³⁷

PROVIDING ON-THE-JOB EXPERIENCE

A third function is the provision of education in connection with actual experience. In the world of work, this type of activity takes the form of on-the-job training. Regular schools may not teach vocational subjects well or may do so only in general terms. Since most jobs require special skills as well as general ability, problems may arise in fitting people who have only general training to the specific job for which they are hired. They may require additional training, provided by the employer or by adult vocational schools, and particularly by proprietary schools.³⁸ Also, formal educational institutions often teach subjects without pointing out their vocational relevance, although institutions such as Antioch College and Northeastern University provide both academic and work experience.

so that the connection between the two is more obvious When this connection is not apparent, additional education is often required ²⁹

DUPLICATING FORMAL EDUCATION

A fourth function is the duplication of instruction provided by formal educational institutions Some parts of the curriculum in high schools and colleges are elective and therefore may be disregarded by students while they attend school Pupils avoid courses in which the content or manner of teaching is unattractive Or, students' schedules may be overloaded so that they do not have time to study subjects in which they are interested, but which are outside their major area of specialization Then, too, interest in subjects may change, so that lack of interest at one time may become a strong interest later With changing interests, adult education provides the opportunity to gain systematic instruction after formal schooling has ended

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

A fifth function of adult education is purely vocational training, although the best vocational training is carried out in on the job experiences Formal educational institutions teach vocational subjects, but often fail to keep abreast of latest developments in a rapidly changing economy For example, instruction in new automated devices may have to be provided by adult education in industrial or special adult schools where courses may be changed more quickly than in the formal educational institutions Lack of the latest equipment can limit the training offered by formal education Not only do formal institutions sometimes lag behind, they also do not and cannot be expected to give instruction in relatively obscure vocational skills Such skills are best provided by proprietary schools, government, the military, business and industry, and in special adult education programs

PROGRAMS PRIMARILY FOR ADULTS

A sixth area for which adult education is well suited is the provision of intellectual, philosophical, cultural, and artistic pursuits Philosophy studied at the age of twenty may be largely an academic exercise but may have a personal relevance and significance at thirty five or sixty Shakespeare read at the age of sixteen is a different Shakespeare when read in later years Adults bring to their studies different experiences and perspectives than the young, and adult educators have a special opportunity and responsibility to bring participants to an awareness of this fact A commitment to lifelong learning can be encouraged, in order to achieve greater realization of the individual as a human being

and as a significant member of society Adult education can be particularly beneficial during a time when leisure and early retirement become widespread in our postindustrial nation⁴⁰

SPECIAL INTERESTS

Finally, adult education provides instruction for special interests This, again, is a function which public educational institutions cannot be expected to fulfill, since they are required to adhere to a well established curriculum which is less sensitive to student needs or short run interests These special interests may include religious instruction, courses in hobbies and crafts, special skills such as the playing of musical instruments, leadership training, political education, and human relations Here the flexibility of adult education is again a great advantage, since almost any special information asked for by small groups of people can be provided without the difficulties in scheduling and administration so common in formal educational institutions

In summary, the picture we have painted has many vistas Adult education is partly a duplication of instruction offered by formal educational institutions, partly a remedial effort, partly a testing ground for formal education, partly an emergency operation for handling special educational contingencies, partly a structure providing education in matters which are primarily interesting to adults, partly a link between general knowledge and its specific application in practice, and partly a means by which special minority interests may be satisfied Diversity is, indeed, characteristic of adult education and is also the source of its great strength and innovative potential As adult education becomes more organized, we should guard against premature closure, as new trends in society develop, they should be reflected in new kinds of programs for adults

Recent Developments

During the past decade, a variety of protest and liberation movements was established, all of them urging reform of American society and its institutions They included political movements based on antiwar sentiments, protest movements that wished to amend the social inequalities under which racial and ethnic minorities, women, homosexuals, and other disadvantaged groups labored, and other movements mainly aimed at combating impersonality and rigidity in interpersonal relations and within individuals New programs of adult education emerged from these movements They are located in all parts of the country, but, for the

sake of brevity, we shall draw our examples mostly from those in California

FREE UNIVERSITIES

Movement protagonists first tried to reform existing institutions, including schools, colleges, and universities. This pressure is still being exerted. In the meantime, other protagonists created new and parallel institutions to express their ideas and purposes in settings over which they had maximum control. The *free university* is one example, still in its early stages of development. A recent study has identified some of its characteristics: a primary focus upon the aims and interests of students, a completely open admissions policy, absence of grades or certificates of any kind, relatively equalitarian relations between students and teachers, and an emphasis on connecting classroom learning with field experiences of all kinds.⁴¹ Being free means the maximization of freedom in the educational process; fees are charged, but are kept to a minimum. Other aims include "humane learning, active thinking rather than rote memorization, communities of learners rather than citadels of elitism, loneliness, and privatism."⁴²

To our knowledge, the first free university emerged about ten years ago on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. During a 1964 sit down in Sproul Hall, students organized classes to discuss issues and problems that appeared immediately relevant to their lives. "During that one evening, we tried formally to create a new style of learning in liberated territory."⁴³ Other educational innovations, such as the teach-in and sit in, became a part of the antiwar movement as students and professors tried to develop a national dialogue about the Johnson administration's war policy. A renewed interest in experimental programming within the formal structure of higher education appeared on many campuses throughout the country.⁴⁴

The Free University of Berkeley was created in 1966 to offer educational experiences to students, dropouts, and adults as an alternative to the formal curriculum of the University.

The Free University is a promise and a protest. It promises a new focus for our intellectual concerns. It rejects an Educational Establishment which produces proud cynicism but sustains neither enthusiasm nor integrity.

The Free University is forged in response to an education both sterile and stultifying, an education which fragments our experience and distorts meanings, which confuses rather than encourages action, and which provides — behind the pretense of knowledge — escape from ourselves and the problems of our day.⁴⁵

Berkeley's Free University continued to exist intermittently and influenced the development of similar kinds of informal education. Between

1965 and 1967, at least twelve free universities were organized across the country

People come to the free university to seek a new world, an open society, cooperative and sharing relationships rather than competitive ones. They also come to learn skills as well as to analyze and discuss FUB [Free University of Berkeley] is the way station, the park bench at which to gather and to find people with similar needs. When needs are met (or perhaps can't be met), people "split" ⁴⁶

OTHER ALTERNATIVES

Other educational endeavors, similar to the free university model, were organized in the San Francisco Bay Area. One example is Heliotrope, which offers programs throughout the area. Teachers are employed on the basis of their competency in a particular area of study rather than by their academic qualifications. Courses offered by Heliotrope include "Of Onion skin and Purple Cabbage," which is a two session class in natural dyes, existential encounters for people over thirty, creative photography, Russian literature, body massage, theater directing, and Islam. Another new educational organization based in San Francisco, Entropy, describes its programming

What distinguishes Entropy from "established" institutions of learning is the learning situation itself. The atmosphere is informal—more classes are held in people's homes. There is no pressure from exams or grades, only you can judge whether you've learned anything or not. Teachers and students meet each other as people so that the learning situation becomes a two-way viaduct, because both student and teacher are learning about life and the subject matter as a single body of knowledge ⁴⁷

Another new organization, Orpheus Bay Area Center for Alternative Education, is part of a more comprehensive group of organizations consisting of "2001," an experimental project for young people between the ages of ten and seventeen, "Orpheus," a college-level program for college level students and adults, "New Ways," a clearinghouse for teachers and adults looking for alternatives in education, and "Orpheus Publications," a publisher of a newsletter and a guide to alternative education in the Bay Area. Fees for programs vary from eight to eighteen dollars, and the instructors receive three dollars per registered student ⁴⁸

A more politically oriented program for adults is the Liberation School, established in 1972 in San Francisco, which offers courses and seminars on major political issues. The school characterizes itself as a "radical education project for people living and working in the San Francisco Bay Area." The following programs were offered during the May-June 1973 term

Organizing for Change Welfare as a Strategic Institution, Women, Literature, and Sexist Society, Revolution in Chile, The State in Capitalist Society, Feminism and Socialism Radical Journalism, Research Project on Science and Bourgeois Ideology, Older Peoples Political Discussion Group, The Struggle for Power in Oakland, The Politics of the California Prison System⁴⁹

These courses are normally organized for eight-week periods Fees vary from \$10 to \$20 per class, but the handbill notes that "no one is excluded because they can't afford to pay" The Liberation School declares that its objective is to build "a movement for meaningful social change" This type of political programming existed in prior years, often called workers' schools or some variation thereof Such schools, initially developed during the twenties, flourished in the Depression decade of the thirties, and were decimated by the Cold War in the McCarthy period of the early fifties

EVERYWOMAN'S VILLAGE

A variety of new educational programs has been created throughout the country as part of the women's movement An early forerunner was Everywoman's Village, organized in 1964 within the Los Angeles area This program was intended to develop educational opportunities for women who were otherwise not adequately served by either the formal system of education or the prevailing adult education programs Everywoman's Village was to emphasize (1) the individuality of the woman, (2) the mature woman's need to integrate her knowledge, skills, experiences, feelings, and aims, and (3) the value of a flexible, individualized, relaxed learning program The program was initially housed in three vacant bungalows and served about two hundred women in twelve courses The present facility has thirteen bungalows and offers two hundred classes weekly, serving thousands of adult students Although Everywoman's Village was originally intended for women, men have been encouraged to enroll, and they do, both sexes are represented on the instructional staff and its advisory board Retired men have found the program especially appealing and are attending in increasing numbers Instruction is provided in the following oil painting and acrylics, stained glass, sculpture and the lost wax process, Chinese cooking, creative carpentry, the art of gracious entertaining, ballet—slim and trim, Transactional Analysis, belly dancing, the art of Europe, yoga, self hypnosis, sewing to fit, sensory psi metrics, the single scene in greater Los Angeles, creative quietude, astrology, and games married people play Everywoman's Village is flexible in its programming and continually sensitive to its clientele It describes itself as follows

Women are drawn to EVERYWOMAN'S VILLAGE by its relaxed atmosphere where education is fun and a break from their regimented lives . . . The process of learning is stressed above the end product Each student is allowed to progress at her own pace, within the range of her own potentialities The major concern is that she find satisfaction within herself— independent of the group or the teacher's approval

EVERYWOMAN'S VILLAGE can help you If—you wish to know more about yourself, you would like to develop a new competence, you desire to study something but don't know what, you wish to resume an interrupted career or start a new one, you are curious about the world we live in, you wish to be a more creative person, you are interested in civic affairs, you desire to express yourself as an individual, and you would like to develop a new interest⁵⁰

UNIVERSITY WITHOUT WALLS

The motive for reform has also found its way into institutions of higher learning For example, the University Without Walls has been established by an association of twenty-five colleges and universities interested in promoting experimentation and research on the most effective ways of improving education in a rapidly changing society This program attracts students who have dropped out of conventional programs and adults who have been unable to enroll in such programs because they work full-time The University Without Walls seeks older students as well as the young, "to build a new dialogue and trust between younger and older persons"⁵¹

The first report indicates that three thousand students of various backgrounds were enrolled, their ages ranging from sixteen to seventy-three Admission policies varied widely, they were left to the discretion of local units, and some were highly selective while others favored open admissions Substantial numbers of black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, or Native American students have been enrolled in some of the units Each course of study is individualized and may involve a combination of regular classes, field experiences, internships, travel, programmed material, independent study, or group projects These programs of study are worked out between students and individual advisors who are considered to be "learner-facilitators" Use of community resources is encouraged, and adjunct professors are appointed to work with students if they are expert in some needed knowledge or skill⁵²

OPEN UNIVERSITIES

Finally, we would like to mention the most promising new developments in higher education on the West Coast. Stimulated by the success of The Open University in Great Britain and wishing to improve

its own public image, the University of California may be instituting an adult degree program to be called *The Extended University*. This will provide an opportunity for adults to pursue bachelor's and master's degrees part-time and off-campus. After an initial study of adult degree programs throughout the country and a subsequent pilot project, the University administration recommended that the new program be established and integrated with the University's existing degree program. The faculties of each campus were assigned the task of creating standards, developing curricula, and supervising instruction. A statewide faculty conference recommended that the program be instituted under the condition that "the degrees which result from such programs be identical in name and equal in quality with those which result from full-time programs."⁵³ Unfortunately, the recent curtailment of funds for education threatens the full development of this part-time adult degree program.

The need for part-time adult programs leading to a degree is fully acknowledged in other circles, for example, the Carnegie Commission recommended recently

That alternative avenues by which students can earn degrees or complete a major portion of their work for a degree be expanded to increase accessibility of higher education for those to whom it is now unavailable because of work schedules, geographic location, or responsibilities in the home.⁵⁴

The Carnegie Commission noted that a part time degree program might be beneficial to many students currently studying full time, since they might find part time study combined with work more profitable than their present concentration upon full time study. Existing plans for an extended adult degree program include the possibility that students might secure their lower division credits in community colleges and do their last two years at the university. Along these lines, a recent report of the American Council on Education predicts a rapid increase of adult enrollments in higher education and urges existing colleges and universities to develop new or modified structures, new curricula, more adequate funding, and a greater awareness of the field of adult education in order to serve the growing clientele of adults.⁵⁵ To the extent that certificates and diplomas increasingly become the major indicators of competence for employment or promotion, the traditional educational institutions will be under growing pressure to provide opportunities for adults through part-time study.

Conclusions

Our comments have implications both for research and for administrators and practitioners in the field of adult education.

First, we cannot remain satisfied with the existing situation, wherein

adult education disproportionately serves to increase the advantages of the already advantaged strata of society. Those who have little education thereby labor under a double disadvantage. Is this to be taken as a brute fact of life about which nothing is to be done, or can conditions, forms, and programs be altered so as to encourage more participation by the relatively disadvantaged? We have suggested some obstacles which currently inhibit such participation, but more research and experimentation are required on this question.

An investigation of the relation between participation and the general life style of participants would also be useful. Where does adult education fit into their lives and how is it related to their other activities?⁵⁶ We are fairly knowledgeable about the functions which adult education performs for society, but we know much less about the functions it performs for its participants.

With regard to administration, we decry the unfortunate tendency to let practice define the field. In this chapter, we have stressed the dynamic nature of adult education, its flux, and its constant response to new tendencies in the larger society. There is a great need for sensitivity to emerging trends. An important responsibility of adult education, yet unfulfilled, is to raise the level of consciousness of adults so that they can better understand the conditions that affect their lives, and, in this way, can more effectively influence the direction of change in their society.⁵⁷ The prospect of a leisure society, of more free time available to adults, is approaching, and the possibility that increasing numbers of adults will not be able to secure employment is a problem to be considered. Adult education has particular relevance for such problems. Just over the horizon we see the beginning of an educated society, in which the majority are high school graduates and a large minority have at least some college training. This impressive trend toward more formal education will probably result in an increased demand for instruction in the liberal arts, a demand the beginning of which we are even now witnessing.

"Giving them what they want" versus "giving them what they need" will continue as a point of tension in the foreseeable future. While giving adults what they want, or what they express as their wants, should always be a first principle of programming in adult education, practitioners also have an obligation to extend the horizons of participants, helping them to become more aware of what they need, and interesting them in the critical problems in our society.⁵⁸ Learning how to think critically and gaining a greater understanding of the social, economic, and political forces that influence their lives must be part of any adult education programming. In this area there should be a creative interplay between adult educator and participant, so that each learns from the

other. While the initial motive for attending an adult education program may be to fill an immediate need such as the attainment of some vocational skill, adult teachers and administrators have a responsibility to broaden the concerns of participants so as to encourage a deeper commitment to liberalizing educational experiences. One has a responsibility to participants to give them what they want but one also has a responsibility to individuals and the society to help them get what they need to realize their potential fully.

In the future, this tension may increasingly take the form of merging vocational and liberal education. As Whitehead said, "The antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious. There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical."⁵⁹ Increasingly, a premium must be placed not so much on what to think as on how to think critically. Preparation for living in a rapidly changing world requires that people learn how to learn. Adult educators will have to design programs that develop the potential for intellectual, emotional, social, and aesthetic growth and that contribute to the improvement of individuals as self-reliant and fully functioning human beings, as members of their community and society, and as citizens of their country and the world.

Notes

- 1 The marginality of adult education in formal educational institutions is discussed by Burton Clark, "The Marginality of Adult Education," *Notes and Essays on Education for Adults*, no. 20, Chicago Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1958. For a case study, see Burton R. Clark, *Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity*, Berkeley University of California Publications in Sociology and Social Institutions, 1956. For an excellent discussion of adult education as a marginal activity within the church, see Bruce Reinhart, *The Institutional Nature of Adult Christian Education*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, pp. 37-65.
- 2 A national survey conducted in 1962-1963 revealed that formal educational institutions—elementary schools, high schools, colleges, and universities—sponsored only about a third of the available adult education courses in the United States. John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, *Volunteers for Learning*, Chicago: Aldine, 1965, pp. 5, 60-67.
- 3 One economist has estimated that the annual aggregate investment in on-the-job training is equal to more than half the total annual expenditures on school education. Jacob Mincer, "On the-Job Training Costs, Returns, and Some Implications," *The Journal of Political Economy*, 52, no. 5, part 2 (October 1962 supplement), 50-79.
- 4 Thomas Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962, p. 23.

5. C Hartley Grattan, *In Quest of Knowledge*, New York. Association Press, 1955, pp. 21-62
6. This statement requires qualification. While many of its early protagonists approved of adult education as a means of extending knowledge to the less educated and therefore considered it an instrument for the extension of democracy, others were critical and deeply suspicious because of their attachment to social movements which aimed for the attainment of political and economic power. In the history of the Workers' Educational Association in Britain, for example, one can find debates as to whether the WEA ought to serve the cause of the labor movement, the cooperative movement, the universities, or the movement of individuals out of the working class. John F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790-1960*, London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, part three. In the United States, some of the people who were influential in the creation of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division wished to extend educational opportunities to workers in order to stifle the working-class unrest that was so widespread in the last decades of the nineteenth century. They believed that workers would not support radical action if they were only more knowledgeable. Frederick M. Rosentreter, *The Boundaries of the Campus*, Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. Those who promoted adult education therefore included some who viewed it as a tactic to counteract or domesticate potentially militant groups as an alternative to granting them power. In this respect, adult education can also be seen as a means of weakening and inhibiting the extension of democracy.

Recently, phrases other than "adult education" have also been used to refer to educational activities designed for adults: "continuous education," "continuing education," "lifelong education," and "lifelong learning." While we use these phrases interchangeably, some distinctions have been made in the literature. "Continuous education" refers to both formal schooling and adult education and is used by those who wish to minimize any discontinuity between the two; it tends to be used by commentators who view education as a continuous process from the cradle to the grave. "Continuing education" refers to education obtained after formal schooling is completed, although it may also mean adult education sponsored by colleges and universities. The term "lifelong" is used to popularize the idea that education and learning are not equivalent to schooling and people can continue to learn even after they have left the formal educational system. These and other phrases are also used to counteract the prevalent notion that adult education is exclusively devoted to remedial activities. Since "adult education" has the most common usage internationally, we shall continue to use it here. Cf. Wayne L. Schroeder, "Adult Education Defined and Described," in Robert M. Smith, et al., editors, *Handbook of Adult Education*, New York Macmillan, 1970, ch. 2, pp. 25-43, and Roy Prosser, "What Is Adult Education?" in Lars-Olof Edstrom, et al., editors, *Mass Education Studies in Adult Education and Teaching by Correspondence in Some Developing Countries*, Stockholm. The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1970, pp. 23-47.

- 8 Orville G Brum, Jr., *Education for Child Rearing*, New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1959
- 9 See the distinction between adult education and the education of adults in Grattan, p 9
- 10 "Among Extension travel study programs in 1968-1969, a program on 'England's Heritage' was an outstanding success Offered in cooperation with the Department of History, the program featured two symposia on the Berkeley campus followed by a three week summer field study trip to ancient and medieval sites in England The participants spent four days in residence at Oxford University and five days at Durham Castle" Edward B Roessler, Dean of University Extension, *The Annual Report of University of California Extension for 1968-1969*, January 30, 1970, p 4
- 11 James A Davis, *Great Books and Small Groups*, New York Free Press of Glencoe, 1961
- 12 We opt for a broad definition of education to include the educational effects of a wide variety of institutions and materials In this respect, we concur with historians of education who have expressed similar views in their recent work Cf Lawrence A Cremin, *The Genius of American Education*, Pittsburgh University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965 and Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society*, New York Vintage Books, 1960
- 13 The 1962-1963 national survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, Johnstone and Rivera, is an exception since questions about private self education were included We shall refer to their findings later
- 14 Lyman Bryson, *Adult Education*, New York American Book Co, 1936, pp 3-4
- 15 For a discussion which places these factors in their historical context, see Robert J Havighurst, "How We Postpone Youth's Coming of Age," in R M McIver, editor, *Dilemmas of Youth In America Today*, New York Harper, 1961, pp 5-14
- 16 See *Handbook of Data and Definitions in Higher Education*, American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admission Officers, 1962
- 17 "An increasing number of corporation executives are exchanging their briefcases for blackboards and textbooks as they return to school to bone up on the latest in management techniques" *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*, January 10, 1971, Section C, p 1
- 18 B Lamar Johnson, *Islands of Innovation Expanding Changes in the Community College*, Beverly Hills Glencoe Press, 1969, pp 37-42, Burton R Clark, *The Open Door College*, New York McGraw Hill, 1960
19. J E Burkett, editor, *Bachelor of Liberal Studies*, Brookline, Massachusetts Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults at Boston University, 1965, Bernard H Stern, *Never Too Late for College The Brooklyn Degree Program for Adults* Chicago Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1963, Women's Bureau, U S Department of Labor, *Continuing Education Programs and Services for Women*, Pamphlet 10, Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1971 Degree programs for adults have

also been instituted at Boston University, Queens College, Syracuse University, Goddard College, Johns Hopkins University, New York University, and other colleges and universities An alternative program, organized by the College Entrance Examination Board in 1965, provides college credit by examination In 1969-1970, an estimated 42,400 candidates took these examinations One of the goals of this program is "to assist adults who wish to continue their education in order to meet licensing and certification requirements or to qualify for higher positions" *College Credit by Examination Through the College-Level Examination Program*, Princeton College Entrance Examination Board, 1970

- 20 The median age for first marriages was one year higher in 1972 than in the mid-1950s, but that change is too small to affect our conclusions The proportion of married women who work has increased substantially, rising from 25 percent in 1950 to 40 percent in 1972, thereby providing a larger pool of available womanpower These statistics are derived from testimony given by Vincent T Barabba, Director of the Bureau of the Census, to a Senate subcommittee on trends and pressures affecting family life, as reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 25, 1973, p 8 In the meantime, the Women's Liberation Movement continues to exert pressure upon educational institutions to admit more women so that they can carry on their studies and receive certification For a discussion of "The American Woman," see *Trans-action*, 8, no 1/2 (November/December 1970), edited by Arlie Hochschild, Jack London, "The Continuing Education of Women A Challenge for Our Society," *Adult Leadership*, 8, nos 1 & 2 (April 1966), 326-328, 338-340
- 21 Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Less Time, More Options*, Hightstown, New Jersey McGraw-Hill for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1971, p 8
- 22 This view of education, captured in the phrase "recurrent education," has been proposed by Bruno Stein and S M Miller, "Recurrent Education An Alternative System," in Ray C Rust, editor, *Restructuring American Education Innovations and Alternatives*, New York E P Dutton, 1972, pp 236-256 These authors also discuss its various ramifications
- 23 Johnstone and Rivera, table 4 2, p 76
- 24 Ibid , p 7
- 25 Ibid , chart 5 2, p 97 Occupation and income data are presented in the same chart
- 26 Ibid , p 7
- 27 The passages that follow are a shortened version of our article, Jack London and Robert Wenkert, "Obstacles to Blue-Collar Participation in Adult Education," in Arthur B Shostak and William Gomberg, editors, *Blue-Collar World Studies of the American Worker*, Englewood Cliffs Prentice-Hall, 1964, pp 445-457. The full report is in monograph form Jack London, Robert Wenkert, and Warren O Hagstrom, *Adult Education and Social Class*, Berkeley Survey Research Center, University of California, 1963
- 28 Johnstone and Rivera, p 6

- 29 Imogene E Oakes, *Participation in Adult Education, 1969 Initial Report*, Washington, D C Government Printing Office, 1971, p 14 This is a preliminary report, released by the National Center for Educational Statistics, Superintendent of Documents Catalog No HE 5213 13041, a subsequent report was promised but had not been released at time of writing
- 30 Ibid, table 1, p 11
- 31 The importance of developing an integrated educational plan for citizens of all ages receives emphasis in the recent proposals on lifelong education prepared by a Canadian Task Force which was charged with devising such a plan to the year 2,005 *Interim Proposals of the Lifelong Education Task Force*, Edmonton, Canada Commission on Educational Planning, 1971 See also Stein and Miller
- 32 Johnstone and Rivera, table 3 4, p 34
- 33 Stanley Moses, 'Notes on the Learning Force,' *Notes on the Future of Education A Publication of the Educational Policy Research Center of Syracuse*, 1, issue 2 (January–February 1970), 6–8, and Wilbur J Cohen, 'Education and Learning,' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 373 (September 1967), 79–101
- 34 Ibid
- 35 In 1968 in California, over 2,500 adults received elementary school certificates and 19 000 adults were granted high school diplomas *Third Progress Report of the Adult Education Advisory Committee*, Sacramento California State Department of Public Instruction, 1969, p 3
- 36 *Manpower Report of the President*, Washington, D C Government Printing Office, 1969, p 80
- 37 *Manpower Report of the President*, Washington, D C Government Printing Office, 1970, p 66
- 38 A Harvey Belitsky, *Private Vocational Schools and Their Students*, Cambridge Schenkman, 1969
- 39 Ida R Hoos, *Retraining the Work Force*, Berkeley University of California Press, 1967
- 40 Predictions about working and vacationing in the year 2,005 were recently published for Alberta, Canada Some of the estimates were as follows the work week will range from 22 to 31 hours, the work day will be from 5 to 6 3 hours, vacations will take about seven weeks per year, retirement age is expected to be between 52 and 55, and the unemployment rate will be 32 7 percent Harold J Dyck, *Social Futures, Alberta, 1970–2005*, Edmonton Canada Human Resources Research Council of Alberta, 1970, p 102. These estimates underline the importance of this sixth function of adult education—leisure can be expected to increase in all postindustrial societies.
- 41 Jane Lichtenman, *Bring Your Own Bag*, Washington, D C American Association for Higher Education, 1973, pp 2–3
- 42 Ibid, p 4
- 43 Michael Rosman, *On Learning and Social Change Transcending the Totalitarian Classroom*, New York Random House Vintage Books, 1972, p 274

- 44 Harold Taylor, *Students Without Teachers The Crisis in the University*, New York Discuss Books/Avon, 1970, pp 186-190
- 45 Handbill distributed by the Free University of Berkeley, n d
- 46 Lichtman, pp 17-18
- 47 Entropy handbill and catalogue of programs, n d
- 48 Orpheus catalogue of programs, June-July 1973
- 49 Liberation School letter and handbill, May 3, 1973
- 50 Everywoman's Village, class schedules and descriptive bulletin, various dates, 1973
- 51 *The University Without Walls First Report*, Yellow Springs, Ohio Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, Antioch College, February 1972
- 52 Ibid
- 53 *Problems and Opportunities of the Extended University The Proceedings of the University of California, Twenty Fifth All University Faculty Conference*, March 23-25, 1970, *Task Force on the Extended University Progress Report*, March 12, 1971, and President's Task Force on the Extended University, *Degree Programs for the Part-Time Student A Proposal*, November 1971 These are University of California reports A bill for a statewide system of adult education patterned after the British Open University was also introduced in the California State legislature 'The college would not have its own campus or buildings It wouldn't be for high school kids but for adults who have had experience Take this junior clerk in the senate for example He's working his way through college In the 'Open College' he would get credit for a state government course because of his experience here" *The Daily Californian*, February 9 1973 p 3 At the time of writing, jurisdiction over this new, off campus, part time, adult degree program is still in dispute, it could be established as part of the University of California or the State University, or separately under an autonomous board See Carl Irving 'Cooperative University Plan," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, April 1, 1973, p 15
- 54 Carnegie Commission on Higher Education loc cit
- 55 *Higher Education and the Adult Student*, Washington, D C American Council on Education, October 25, 1972 This report was issued by the Council's Committee of Higher Adult Education and approved by the Council's Commission on Academic Affairs and the Board of Directors
- 56 Jack London and Robert Wenkert, 'Leisure Styles and Adult Education,' *Adult Education*, 20, no 1 (fall 1969), 3-22
- 57 Jack London, "Reflections Upon the Relevance of Paulo Freire for American Adult Education," in Stanley M Grabowski, editor, *Paulo Freire A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator*, Syracuse Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, 1972, pp 13-35
- 58 Jack London, 'Program Development in Adult Education,' in Malcolm S Knowles, editor, *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*, Chicago Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1960, ch 6, pp 65-81
- 59 Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays*, New York Macmillan, 1929, p 74

Suggestions for Further Reading

- Clark, Burton R. *Adult Education in Transition A Study of Institutional Insecurity* Berkeley University of California Press, 1955, reprinted 1968 A sociological study of public school adult education in Los Angeles, emphasizing marginality, a concept useful in understanding the role of adult education in American society
- Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Co operation *Permanent Education* Strasbourg Council of Europe, 1970 Various chapters focus upon integrating adult education into the formal systems of education The major focus of this volume is the extension of education beyond children and youth to the entire life span
- Freire, Paulo *Education for Critical Consciousness* New York Seabury 1973 This volume contains two essays recently translated into English The introduction states Education in the Freire mode is the 'practice of liberty because it frees the educator no less than the educatees from the twin thraldom of silence and monologue Both partners are liberated as they begin to learn"
- Freire, Paulo *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* New York Herder and Herder, 1970 A relevant volume by the Brazilian educator, now in exile He critically re examines traditional education, which he refers to as the "banking" concept of education and which, he asserts, has contributed to the oppression of citizens in most countries of the world In emphasizing the political consequences of education, he takes a view seldom put forward by educators in the United States
- Grabowski, Stanley M., editor *Paulo Freire A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator* Syracuse ERIC Clearing House on Adult Education, 1972 A collection of essays presenting a variety of pro and con discussions upon the relevance of Freire's perspective for adult education
- Grattan, C. Hartley *In Quest of Knowledge A Historical Perspective on Adult Education* New York Association Press, 1955 A historical survey of adult education from preliterate man to the present, providing some over view of adult education in ancient Greece, medieval Europe, and North America
- Houle, Cyril O. *The Design of Education* San Francisco Jossey-Bass, 1972 One of the most respected professors of adult education in the United States, Houle strives to develop a scheme for planning, developing, and evaluating adult education programs He includes a 65-page bibliographic essay that provides references on various aspects of adult education
- Houle, Cyril O. *The External Degree* San Francisco Jossey Bass, 1973 A useful examination of the history and development of external degree programs in the United States and foreign institutions
- Illich, Ivan *Deschooling Society* New York Harper & Row, 1971 A provocative critique of schooling in Western societies, particularly the United States
- Johnstone, John W. C., and Ramon J. Rivera *Volunteers for Learning* Chi-

- cago. Aldine, 1965 This study by the National Opinion Research Center is the most comprehensive national survey ever conducted on adult education It includes, among other things, an inventory of the experiences of adults in pursuit of education and a section reporting upon learning activities undertaken by young adults, aged seventeen to twenty-four
- Knowles, Malcolm S, editor *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States* Chicago Adult Education Association of the USA, 1960 An overview of adult education, with chapters about common concerns of adult educators such as philosophy, learning theory for adults, program development, research, worker's education, economic education, education for the aging, public affairs, and so forth
- Knowles, Malcolm S *The Modern Practice of Adult Education* New York Association Press, 1970 An excellent technical manual for adult educators Sections deal with the technology of adult education, organization, and administration, and how adults learn He introduces a concept entitled "andragogy" as a substitute for "pedagogy," to distinguish between the education of adults and of children
- Lindeman, Eduard C *The Meaning of Adult Education* Montreal Harvest House, 1961 This is a reprint of a classic book originally published in 1926, and represents a major effort to examine the potential of liberalizing education for adults It is still useful as a model and inspiration to adult educators
- London, Jack, Robert Wenkert, and Warren O Hagstrom *Adult Education and Social Class* Berkeley Survey Research Center, University of California, 1963 A comprehensive survey of participation of males in adult education This is one of the very few systematic studies conducted anywhere on the connection between social class and adult education
- Shaw, Nathan C, editor *Administration of Continuing Education A Guide for Administrators* Washington, DC National Association for Public School Adult Education, 1969 A reader, intended for administrators, on various aspects of adult education The book is divided into five sections The Organization and Administration of Continuing Education, Program Development and Operation, The Adult Participant, Improvement of Instruction, and Research and Evaluation
- Smith, Robert M, George F Aker, and J R Kidd, editors *Handbook of Adult Education* New York Macmillan, 1970 Compiles articles written specifically for this handbook to depict the broad dimensions of the adult education field Chapters include The Social Setting for Adult Education, Program Development and Evaluation, Philosophical Considerations, other chapters describe programs such as basic education, family-life education, vocational-technical education, continuing education for women, and education for self-fulfillment.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

BRUCE REINHART

The origins of vocational education are lost in antiquity, but every culture leaving a written record has included provisions for vocational learning. The types of vocations have changed and the arrangements for vocational learning have also changed. In recent history, our agrarian society has made a rapid transformation into a modern industrialized society. It has been only a relatively short time since vocational education ceased being a father-son apprenticeship and became a formalized institution. "It was only 'this morning' in a historical sense that attention was given to industrial education as part of the educational program generally provided for youth. It was later before any significant gains were made."¹

Development in the United States

HISTORY

The conceptual foundations for this new kind of education were forged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but they drew from a heritage that can be traced from the Greeks and Romans through

the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the educational reforms of succeeding centuries Education in the practical arts was enhanced by the teachings of Pestalozzi and came to the forefront in the manual training movement of the last two decades in the nineteenth century The first manual training high school in the United States was established in 1880 by Calvin M Woodward, the movement's most prominent exponent This manual training, however, was not designed to prepare workers for a vocation Instead, it provided them with general knowledge, skills, and attitudes that would enable them to derive satisfaction from their lives and fulfill their responsibilities as citizens These nonvocational, practical arts evolved into industrial arts, general home economics, general business, and general agriculture

The vocational emphasis was popularized in the twentieth century by the Douglas Commission appointed by the governor of Massachusetts (1905), the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (1906), the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education (1914), the Federal Board for Vocational Education (1917), The American Vocational Association (1926), the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education (1961), the Advisory Council on Vocational Education (1966), and the State and National Advisory Councils (1968) Aided by these and other groups, vocational education gained momentum with the establishment of federally supported vocational programs and vocational schools Congress promoted vocational education through the Smith Hughes Act of 1917, which set the basic patterns for vocational education for almost half a century, and through the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which was the most responsive to emerging social problems² The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1974 have emphasized the need for remedial job training programs in addition to the traditional programs of the public schools

SCOPE OF PRESENT PROGRAMS

The various agencies which collect data about vocational education do not always use standard definitions Nevertheless, the basic picture seems fairly clear Occupational programs were offered in 1971 by 17,460 secondary schools, mostly public institutions, and 8,182 postsecondary schools, mostly private institutions (see tables 1 and 2) Enrolled in these programs were 11.6 million persons (see table 3) The largest number of vocational students, 7.2 million, were in secondary schools Another 1.3 million were in postsecondary programs, and 2.3 million were in adult supplemental programs About 546,000 were taking preparatory courses, and another 172,000 were in apprenticeship pro-

grams.³ More than 3 million students were in consumer and homemaking programs. Two other large groups were in trade or office programs, each enrolling well over 2 million students. Another million were receiving prevocational instruction. Still others were training in such fields as agriculture, distribution, and health (see table 3).

The steady increase in vocational enrollments in public institutions during the past decade is partially explained by increased financial support. Over 2.6 billion dollars from federal, state, and local sources were spent for vocational education in public schools during 1971-1972, with 17.5 percent from federal funds and 82.5 percent from state and local funds. This total represented a tenfold increase since 1961-1962. For each dollar spent by the federal government, the states spent \$4.71. When one considers the fact that vocational programs cost more than traditional academic programs, this increased financial commitment to vocational education at the state and local levels is striking.⁴

EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL NEEDS

Despite the difficulties in assessing its quantity and quality, there is no doubt that vocational education has become a vital factor in national policy. During the 1950s a sense of crisis was engendered by three phenomena: rapid scientific and technological change, an expanding birth rate, and the expansion of totalitarianism abroad. Many people felt that our educational inadequacies jeopardized our freedom and even our lives.⁵

During the 1960s three additional domestic crises erupted and increased the demand for vocational education. First, the continued existence of poverty became a major public issue, and the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations launched a national effort to end the self-perpetuating cycle of poverty. Second, the civil rights movement burst forth, and with it came a growing public awareness of the social, economic, and political deprivations suffered by the nation's minorities.

Table 1 Number of Public and Nonpublic Secondary Schools Offering Occupational Programs, Fall 1971

Total	Local	Public State	Federal	Nonpublic Religious	Other
17,460	15,469	1,363	55	364	209

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics, *Directory of Secondary Schools with Occupational Curriculums Public-Nonpublic, 1971*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1973, p. xxii.

Finally, there was the threatening, increasingly complex urban crisis.⁶

The forces generated by these major crises have given vocational education a much greater role in national policy. Since quick solutions to these problems are not available and since the forces that they generate are not likely to dissipate, vocational education appears destined to play a larger role in American society.

The remainder of this chapter defines vocational education and relates it to career education, discusses the increasing importance of vocational education, analyzes the impact of social stratification on vocational educators, describes the student allocation process, discusses struggles for control of vocational education, and offers some predictions.

Vocational Education Defined

Vocational education means different things to different people. Some argue that all education is vocational preparation in a broad sense. From the standpoint of subject matter, there is no clear cut distinction between general and vocational education, since what has vocational significance for one person may have no vocational significance for someone else. It is imperative, therefore, to specify what we mean by vocational education, even though our definition may differ in some respects from the prevailing definitions.⁷

First, education is vocational when it is designed specifically to improve the efficiency of an individual in a specific occupation. It is related

Table 2 Number of Public and Private Schools with Postsecondary Occupational Programs, 1971

Type of school	Total	Public	Private
Technical/Vocational	1,027	560	467
Technical Institute	306	122	184
Business/Commercial	967	5	962
Cosmetology School	1,481	4	1,477
Flight School	1,345	3	1,342
Trade School	597	54	543
Correspondence School	114	0	114
Hospital School	1,134	118	1,016
Junior/Community College	782	658	124
College	384	217	167
Other	45	15	30
Total	8,182	1,756	6,426

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics, *Directory of Postsecondary Schools with Occupational Programs, Public and Private, 1971*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1973, p. xix.

to actual job requirements, whether the job is at the entry level or at some advanced level. In other words, vocational education is education for employment.

Second, vocational education is training for jobs which do not require a baccalaureate degree. Higher education, however, is not excluded by this definition, vocational education is growing rapidly in community colleges, where academic credit is awarded for the Associate of Arts and the Associate of Science degrees.

Third, vocational education takes place in many different organizations—public and private, profit and nonprofit. Among these are community colleges, high schools, occupational training centers, skill centers, technical institutes, Job Corps camps, and neighborhood centers, as well as business and industrial firms. Some, such as the public schools, have long histories and traditions of vocational education. Others, such as the Job Corps camps, are short lived and sensitive to current whims of Congress. Thus, the degree of permanence varies considerably.

Finally, with the exception of the very young and the very old, vocational education is applicable to all ages. It serves every age group in the labor force and also serves youths who anticipate entering the labor force. The trend is toward increasing the percentage of adults in vocational programs. But economic forces within the world of work and social forces within society restrict the enrollment of some age groups in vocational programs, and vocational training institutions usually enforce such restrictions.

Caution must be taken not to equate vocational education with career

Table 3 Enrollment in Vocational Education Programs, Fiscal Year 1972

Agriculture (Off-Farm)	896,460 (332,305)
Distribution	640,423
Health	336,652
Home Economics (Gainful)	279,966
Office	2,351,878
Technical	337,069
Trades & Industry	2,397,968
Special Programs	1,304,619
Prevocational	1,079,752
Remedial	57,879
Other	166,988
Consumer and Homemaking	3,165,732
 Total (Unduplicated)	 11,602,144

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Source: U.S. Office of Education: Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education

education. The current emphasis on career education is an effort to restructure all levels of American public education by integrating career awareness and work-related values into the total curricula, by implementing the exploration of careers, and by preparing students for career-related activities. Vocational education is only one component of career education. Furthermore, career education includes preparation for occupations requiring a baccalaureate or a higher degree.

In the early 1970s, while Sidney Marland, Jr., was Commissioner of Education, career education was the number one goal of the U.S. Office of Education, financed by more than \$100 million a year. The Office of Education developed and tested many types of career education in which, during the 1972-1973 school year nearly three quarters of a million students, from kindergarten to adulthood, participated. Explaining career education, Marland stated:

What the term 'career education' means to me is basically a point of view, a concept—a concept that says three things. First, that career education will be a part of the curriculum for all students not just some. Second, that it will continue throughout a youngster's stay in school from the first grade through senior high and beyond, if he so elects. And third, that every student leaving school will possess the skills necessary to give him a start in making a livelihood for himself and his family, even if he leaves before completing high school.⁸

Career education is not vocational education. Nevertheless, the overwhelming enthusiasm and support for career education has enhanced interest in and support for vocational education.

The Increasing Importance of Vocational Education

Education plays an ever larger role in preparing people for work and in allocating them to different jobs. In fact, education has become so fused with occupations that it is now seen as part of the economic foundations of society. Each advancing stage of science, technology, and industry has increased the importance of vocationalism in education. The early struggles of vocationalism were over the preparation of highly educated individuals. The universities provided experts for industry, business, and government. When the Soviet Union's Sputnik flashed before the world's eyes, the immediate response of the United States, the National Defense Education Act, substantially increased vocationalism in higher education. The Act was designed primarily to bolster science, language, mathematics, and engineering opportunities for the academically talented, degree-seeking student.

The battle, however, has now been joined by the 80 percent who will

not graduate from college Grant Venn, one of the more articulate spokesmen for vocational education, wrote

Technology has created a new relationship between man, his education, and his work, in which education is placed squarely between man and his work Although this relationship has traditionally held for *some* men and *some* work (on the professional level, for example), modern technology has advanced to the point where the relationship may now be said to exist for *all* men and *all* work.⁹

Vocational education for "*all* men and *all* work" gained momentum during the 1960s, and the federal government became deeply committed to programs that would enhance all peoples' employability Manpower policy—as contrasted with fiscal and monetary policies, which affect all levels of employment—became an integral part of federal economic policy

Major federal legislation included the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Economic Development Act, and the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 In these and other acts, the Administration and Congress responded to an array of problems on a piecemeal basis Some of the programs failed and were replaced by others which had varying degrees of success, but such differing results are typical of a period of innovation As a result, this nation entered the 1970s with a package of federal legislation largely devoted to occupational education that totaled \$3.5 billion

Social Stratification and Vocational Educators

LOW PRESTIGE OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Social stratification provides a key to understanding vocational educators and their problems Class, status, and power strongly influence educators as they confront their daily tasks of administration and instruction and as they relate to the society around them For example, vocational programs become the dumping ground for dropouts and castoffs of academic education Vocational education is often considered to be the solution for families of the ghetto and other minority groups, who are struggling with many problems The results of stratification are also evident when special courses in arithmetic and English for occupational subjects are established, when vocational personnel and facilities are given a low priority, when the vocational student suffers from a low status in comprehensive institutions, and when special institutions are created for job training programs because the established institutions will not accept such programs In short, vocational education has low prestige in the com-

munity, and this, in turn, affects the status of the vocational educators themselves

The status of various types of education depends to a large degree upon their relation to occupations. Thus, one reason why universities have high status is that their professional and graduate programs prepare students for high status occupations in the established professions, science, and business management. Four- and five-year college programs aim their instruction at occupations of somewhat lower status, such as teaching, engineering, and junior management, for which advanced graduate work and prolonged professional training are not needed. Junior colleges prepare technicians and semiprofessionals, and the secondary schools train the semiskilled and skilled for low level jobs. Recently, many new institutions have appeared which provide remedial basic education and prevocational training. These schools and programs usually have low status.¹⁰

Vocational educators lament the low status generally ascribed to their work, and they have perennially tried to "educate" the public in this regard. Nevertheless, the occupational status system of our society has changed very little over the years. A specific job may gain or lose some prestige, but the evaluation of general types of occupations has remained quite stable.¹¹

Because the status of vocational education is determined by the stratification system of society, it would take a basic reordering of society itself to improve the status of vocational education — and it does not seem likely that this will occur. Although some aspects of our society are being questioned, it appears that only minor changes will be made with regard to vocational education. Education will increasingly be used for alleviating social injustices, but it will not threaten the occupational stratification system. In fact, the attempts of vocational education to perform its remedial function may actually reinforce the present system. Nevertheless, as their services become more highly valued and as they borrow status from increased identification with the related professions, vocational educators may receive small increases in prestige and financial rewards.

DIversity

So far we have been discussing vocational educators as a group, but not all vocational educators have low status. Within vocational education there are various substrata. The social status of the business and office instructors, who teach white-collar occupations and develop most of their occupational competence in the classroom, varies considerably from the status of trades and industry instructors, who teach blue-collar

occupations and who develop most of their occupational competence on the job In general, vocational educators have higher status when their technical competence is acquired in an educational institution rather than on a job

Vocational educators have diverse backgrounds There is a mixture of general or liberal arts education, occupational subject area knowledge and skills, and formal teacher training¹² These three ingredients are not present to the same extent in the preparation of all vocational teachers For example, some areas of business education require a graduate degree In other areas, vocational teachers come directly to the classroom from the job and may not have even had high school training

RECRUITMENT AND PREPARATION

In general, recruitment and preparation for vocational teaching is based on the premise that it is better to prepare a craftsman or technician to teach than it is to train a teacher in the occupational skills Actual work experience, at the journeyman level, remains a basis for vocational teacher preparation It is customary to award a special, limited credential to a trade or technical teacher after he/she successfully completes an abbreviated teacher training program that usually focuses on instructional methods¹³ Teaching credentials were not required at all in the numerous job training programs that emerged during the 1960s Many vocational educators were recruited directly from business and industry Job Corps centers, skill centers, and on-the-job training programs in business and industry placed teachers in the classroom who did not have any formal teacher training One program, the Area Manpower Institutes for the Development of Staff (AMIDS), sent out traveling instructors to conduct workshops, institutes, and other types of brief, in-service training for these vocational teachers This program, however, reached only a small percentage of the vocational personnel in the manpower programs¹⁴ Thus trade, industrial, and technical teachers are not the products of traditional teacher training institutions Instead, they have acquired their subject competence on the job, teaching is their second career

The differential status given to the various strata of vocational personnel reflects the social distance between the members of this large family In fact, some members do not acknowledge their kinship with their distant cousins, and many attempt to pass into the higher status of academic institutions Unfortunately, the courtship between the vocational educators and the academic educators is often more rhetoric than reality, and the occasional marriages are often arrangements of necessity and convenience rather than of true love Therefore, attempts to bring

personnel and subject areas together within vocational education and between vocational education and academic education generally will be plagued by social differences as well as subject area differences.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Finally, we should consider social mobility among vocational educators. They have not been studied as thoroughly as regular public school teachers, but the evidence suggests that both groups come predominantly from the lower middle class. The few existing studies of vocational instructors have focused on teachers in the trade, industrial, and technical fields, which train predominantly for blue collar occupations.¹⁵ However, informal observation leads to the conclusion that most vocational teachers have social class histories associated with their occupational subject matter. And since, by definition, vocational education does not train for occupations requiring a four-year college degree, their occupational histories identify them with lower- and lower middle-class origins.

Trade, industrial, and technical instructors in the traditional programs of the public schools probably demonstrate the most striking examples of social mobility of any vocational educators. In some cases, they have risen high above their original status.

A study of California trade-technical teachers in the public schools indicates that they have a median of about fourteen years of work experience in industry prior to teaching. They must certify their occupational competence at the journeyman level before they receive teaching credentials. As a result, they enter the world of education in their late thirties, much later than most other teachers.¹⁶

The transition from work to education usually accents their deficiencies in formal education. On the job their status was linked to their competence as tradespeople or technicians, but the status system of the school emphasizes formal education. The educational establishment has been reluctant to acknowledge occupational competence. It is not surprising, therefore, that trade and technical teachers acquire considerable amounts of formal education while teaching. They must do so to protect their new status. Of course, some do not get the required education and return to their former jobs, many others become marginal, with a social status somewhere between the two realms.

An increasing number, however, rise above the position of teacher to become educational administrators. The recent rapid development of vocational education has opened to the vocational educator a number of high positions in federal, state, and county governments, in school districts, and in local schools. However, in many cases, their specialized education must be supplemented with even more formal education than was required of teachers.

The recent emergence of new centers for vocational education, within and outside of the public schools, introduces a new dimension. Although there is some dependence upon the educational establishment to provide leadership, the traditional formal education requirements have been waived. On the other hand, these new centers are not yet firmly established, and their personnel do not have the security of tenure. Thus, social mobility in recent job training programs is, at best, a gamble.

Student Allocation

THE IMPORTANCE OF OCCUPATION

In some countries, and at different periods in history, a person could be identified by asking, "Where is he from?" (what part of the country) or "Who is she?" (meaning her family). These questions do not help to identify an American because we are a geographically mobile people, and we may be in an entirely different occupational and social class than our parents. In England the inquiry, "Who is that woman?" might be answered, "She is a Percy from Northumberland", whereas in America the reply would probably be, "She is an engineer with Standard Oil." In our fluid industrial society, occupation is the principal determinant of social status.¹⁷

Consequently, freedom of occupational choice is very important. Our emphasis upon equality of opportunity suggests that every child, regardless of origin, should be allowed to choose between being a doctor or an automobile mechanic, a taxi driver or a test pilot. Americans expect schools to support all pupils' job aspirations and to develop their vocational capacities to the fullest.

A PROBLEM FOR THE SCHOOLS

This expectation places upon the educational system the major responsibility for allocating people to various levels of occupations. Since most jobs now have some educational prerequisites, the process of allocation begins early in the elementary grades and continues throughout the child's schooling. The process is complex, and it involves testing, grading, counseling, and guidance. In general, students with lower aptitude and lower achievement receive minimal amounts of education, and it is of a low-level, general type. These students are directed toward practical, terminal curricula which may, or may not, prepare them for low skilled occupations. Pupils with higher aptitude and higher achievement are guided into more demanding liberal arts programs with few practical courses. Their curricula are designed to prepare them for higher education and higher status occupations and to keep their occupational choices flexible.

But the rapid growth of higher education since World War II has placed the secondary school system in an increasingly difficult position. With college enrollments now over eight million and with the open door ever widening, there is increasing resistance to terminal programs (programs which do not qualify a student to go on to a higher level of education). The growth of college enrollments has transformed what has been predominantly a system of mass terminal education into one that is increasingly asked to prepare large numbers of students for college. In addition, parents with more formal education are resisting terminal programs for their children. Likewise, minority groups, who suspect the allocation system of being a means of exploiting them, are also resisting terminal curricula. As a result, the secondary system is abdicating its function of terminal allocations and is passing the problem on to postsecondary institutions.

A dramatic example of the crunch in student allocation is found in the open door community colleges which try to divert failing students into less demanding but acceptable alternate careers, rather than simply flunking them out, as regular colleges and universities would do.¹⁸ Vocational education is placed at the cutting edge of the allocation process, in the unenviable position of inheriting these cooled-out "victims" of higher education.

Since the American stratification system is not likely to change drastically in the near future, and since current student assessments by means of tests and scholastic records are academically biased, the student who is not academically inclined will always be a problem. Vocational educators can help such students by developing open ended ladders in vocational curricula. Such ladders provide lower status, entry level programs from which it is possible to climb, within a selected career, to higher-status occupations. Since the cooling out process offers less social damage than the public failure of a student, and less eventual economic hardship, this process ought to be perfected and acknowledged as a necessary and viable alternative.

Struggles for Control

Major innovations seldom proceed smoothly, vocational programs have been involved in plenty of turmoil. The development and implementation of national manpower policy touched off battles for the control and direction of vocational education. Struggles occurred at every level. Within the federal government, the conflict raged between the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and, to a lesser extent, the newly created Office of Economic Oppor-

tunity¹⁹ State departments of education frequently resented the establishment of dual school systems by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) and the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA). These departments and the departments of human resources (employment) ignored each other's existence much of the time and reluctantly cooperated only when legislation required them to cooperate in order to receive funding. At the local level, mayors often resented the federally established Community Action Agencies (CAA). Local governmental bodies frequently fought the direction and control exercised over local programs by federal and state officials and by representatives of the poor. Although the funding systems will undoubtedly change with changes in the federal administration, these battles are far from resolved.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

A specific illustration of the conflict over the Manpower Development and Training Act, which mandated the reorganization of the state departments of human resources and the public schools and called for significant modification in the policies of the labor unions and employers, is described by Stanley H. Ruttenberg, former Assistant Secretary for Manpower in the U.S. Department of Labor. He wrote frankly about the conflict between his Department and HEW:

Once the need for manpower training legislation had been established, the overriding issue was whether responsibility for training and retraining adults should be part of the regular vocational education system (public schools) or tied to the employment world. Since the vocational system was completely out of touch with the modern industrial world, it could not be trusted with such an assignment, moreover, bold new departures were necessary to meet new problems. Within the Labor Department there was strong support for government sponsored on-the-job training, which had proved so successful in meeting the World War II manpower requirements, particularly in training experienced workmen who found themselves with obsolete skills. The fear was that if the training program was given to the vocational education system it would end up as far removed from the real world of employment as the existing high school vocational education programs.²⁰

Each of these departments mobilized its forces. The Labor Department was strongly supported by Senator Joseph Clark and Representative Elmer Holland. HEW was vigorously supported by the effective lobbying of the American Vocational Association. In the balance of political forces, a compromise was reached. The training program was divided into two parts—an on the job training program, for which the Secretary of Labor would have sole responsibility, and an institutional

or classroom training program, for which responsibility would be jointly shared by the Secretary of HEW and the Secretary of Labor. Institutional training was to be carried out through the regular state-controlled vocational education system, but the decisions on occupations in which training would be offered and the selection and placement of the trainees would be the responsibility of the Secretary of Labor.

The passage of the initial MDTA legislation far from ended the struggle. Battles have continued in the legislature over each of the several MDTA amendments and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), which succeeded it, and friction exists today at every level of implementation.

SKILL CENTERS

One adaptation to social and political pressures was the emergence of the skill center, a new type of vocational training institution. It was jointly developed by the MDT Division of the Office of Education and the Manpower Administration of the Labor Department as a new type of vocational education plant administered by a school system. Ruttenberg describes the skill center as follows:

In concept the skill center would provide in one place both basic or remedial education and training in a variety of skills geared to the needs of the local labor market. The center would be convenient to the neighborhoods where most of the target population live. In addition to skill training, the enrollees would also be able to get in the center the counseling and guidance they needed to make effective use of their training, as well as assistance in finding a job when they finished the course. The staff of the center would be hired specifically for the MDTA program and trained to deal with the disadvantaged.²¹

Skill centers appear to be a practical compromise for the public school establishment. The public schools often found it difficult to make the changes necessary for the MDT type of vocational education. MDT training has a different character and a different clientele.²² (It is commonly considered by professional vocational educators in the public schools to be a lower status, limited skilled, entry level training with minimally motivated, low-ability, multiproblem students.) By removing this brand of vocational education from the campuses of established schools, placing it in lower class communities, and recruiting instructors directly from industry, the public schools have been able to circumvent their traditional commitments and adapt more realistically to the demands of this type of vocational education. In addition, they have been able to bridge some of the barriers that had limited the cooperation between state employment services and the educational establishment.

These are only two examples of legislative conflict and institutional adaptation dealing with vocational education. In general, legislation and conflicts proliferated throughout the 1960s, and traditional institutions made many changes.

Assessments and Predictions

From the foregoing analysis of vocational education, a number of characterizations and a few predictions can be made.

CONTINUING EXPANSION

First, vocational education will continue to expand. It did so in the sixties in regard to programs, personnel, and institutions, especially in community colleges, where new programs for technicians and paraprofessionals were established. But the growth of vocational programs also descended to the lower status, limited skilled, entry-level occupations. This shift was most dramatic in the public schools, where federal funds had a catalytic effect upon local expenditures resulting in the multiplication of vocational curricula and students.

The increase in existing programs and the establishment of new programs led to the need for many additional teachers and administrators. During this period, the traditional recruitment and training programs were unable to supply the demand. Many program directors recruited instructors directly from business and industry and provided them little or no introduction to teaching. Many vocational teachers were escalated into administrative roles. As a result, vocational educators acquired status and power within the educational system. The recruitment of new instructors also expanded the social base of support for vocational education.

Vocational education also grew institutionally. New types of organizations, such as skill centers, area vocational schools and Job Corps camps, provided new vehicles for training. At the same time, vocational education expanded in many newly established community colleges and high schools. Thus, vocational education reached a more heterogeneous clientele with a variety of curricula.

The piecemeal, trial and error approach inevitably caused some experiments to fail, but it is clear that vocational education will not regress to its midcentury status. The competition for and rewards of a multi-faceted manpower training program are obvious, and various sectors of vocational education will always be willing to struggle, often against unknown and formidable odds, to get a piece of the action.

COMMITTED INSTITUTIONS

Second, the expansion of vocational education will be primarily in institutions in which a commitment to vocational education can be established and secured. Institutions requiring a change of commitment in order to accommodate vocational goals are less likely to expand their programs than are institutions in which a commitment to vocational education is already established or new institutions in which a change in commitment is not required. Long established schools committed to academic rather than vocational education have rarely made the adaptation to vocational education. Such institutions have found it difficult to change because their distinctive character and competence are firmly established in the pursuit of academic goals. The leaders, the types of personnel employed, and the overall academic orientation work against an easy shift to vocational goals. In other institutions, however, where a commitment to vocational education was already present, vocational programs have more easily been expanded.

New institutions have no previous commitments to repudiate. In addition, many new institutions have the added advantage of being established in community environments that are compatible with vocational goals. Skill centers, area vocational schools, adult occupational centers, Job Corps camps, neighborhood youth centers, and on the job training in business and industry are able to develop an indigenous character, unconstrained by middle class values and academic bias. In such settings, vocational educators develop their programs without constant confrontations with colleagues of other persuasions.

The freedom of new institutions to maintain a commitment to vocational education will account for much of the expansion of vocational education during the next few years. But, since the stability of new types of institutions is often precarious, some will perish. Many will remain, however, and will carry the major burden of remedial vocational education in the future.

The current emphasis on career education is not an exception to this premise. Vocational education, a vital component of career education, currently has support from the U.S. Office of Education, the National Institute of Education, and the Congress. However, as present academic programs are increasingly altered, modified, and deleted to accommodate the goals of career education, and as vocationally oriented programs are increasingly adopted, career education will encounter stiffer resistance. Changes in traditional curricula will occur reluctantly where conflicting commitments have been long established.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Third, the lack of easy, quick solutions to social problems assures the continued need for vocational education. Vocational education is considered to be one possible solution for the nation's many social problems. Since these problems are not likely to abate and since few, if any, solutions have been found, the basic support and need for vocational education will persist, although there is a possibility that vocational education will not be able to solve the problems or will not be interpreted as doing so. A more likely possibility, however, is that new problems will emerge, diverting attention from the problems now generating support for vocational education. These new problems may or may not call for vocational education, and they may be given emergency priority (as in the case of the war in Southeast Asia). On the other hand, vocational education has strengthened its position by strongly identifying with human distresses that cannot be easily ignored.

FEDERAL SUPPORT

Fourth, federal bipartisan support for vocational education will continue to infuse funds into the educational system. On a short term basis, vocational education will continue to have difficulties obtaining funds, but in the long run, the trial and error experimental period of the sixties will lead to a period of substantial funding for proven programs. Legislation essentially vocational in nature, whether administered by the Department of HEW or the Department of Labor, will enjoy strong support from both major political parties. However, when vocational education becomes clouded by other factors, such as welfare philosophies, it will often be in jeopardy.

The control of money is a divisive factor in vocational education. Conflicts over controlling the funds are inescapable in the current milieu of wide ranging, piecemeal vocational programs. Contending interest groups will continue battling for power and the decisions will be political. In the future there will be better coordination and consolidation of programs, and less effective and/or expensive programs will be eliminated, but the conflicts over financial control will endure.

Control over the expenditure of funds will increase the power of vocational leaders within the educational community. Skills in acquiring money and administering vocational programs will continue to be rewarded. This recognition will undoubtedly motivate comprehensive educational institutions to offer more vocational programs.

STRATIFICATION

Fifth, the implications of social stratification will pervade all phases of vocational education, and the resulting problems will continue unabated. It is unrealistic to expect major changes in the stratification system. The implications of class, status, and power in the United States will prevail in the occupational sphere, in the educational sphere, and in the transition from one to the other. With this assumption, we can expect that the estrangement between academic and vocational education will continue, that struggles for positions of power will increase as vocational education expands, that status differences between academic and vocational personnel and within the ranks of vocational educators will remain, that vocational institutions will strive to upgrade their image, and that problems with student allocation and community support will proliferate. In brief, vocational educators can expect these difficulties to persist, no genie will pop out of a bottle and grant their most desired wish, to upend the stratification system.

Vocational educators would be well advised to improve their position by indirect rather than direct assaults upon the stratified pillars of society. Specifically, vocational education will benefit by avoiding status confrontations, by providing an open ended status ladder for vocational curricula, and by emphasizing other rewards, such as opportunities for immediate employment, good wages, and comfortable life styles.

Trainees will learn job skills more easily in homogeneous socioeconomic environments where they can avoid the status confrontations inherent in heterogeneous socioeconomic environments. Ghetto residents should receive training in their own neighborhood, not in large, cosmopolitan schools in middle class districts. In fact, many remedial job training centers for the disadvantaged are operating now in such environments. Of course, there are obvious educational disadvantages to such a strategy, and it is contrary to the ideas of a supposedly democratic society, but it reduces socioeconomic confrontations and offers a supportive atmosphere for the growth and development of occupation skills. In addition it gives vocational educators greater freedom in developing vocational programs.

Compensations besides those implied by social stratification systems will also be helpful. Monetary rewards for instance, are currently emphasized by vocational teachers with their trainees in lower status occupations that have been financially overcompensated. Thus, apprentice plumbers may be told that they will make more money than many college graduates. Often certain advantages and privileges in the working environment are also used to compensate for lower status. Pleasant

surroundings, the absence of close supervision, and freedom to set one's own pace are such advantages

Furthermore, acknowledging occupational stratification establishes recognition for advancement from entry-level to higher-level jobs. In fact, many vocational educators do not consider vocational education as terminal education and have designed open-ended programs by which trainees can supplement or update their skills. In this regard, the continued development and sophistication of cooling-out techniques will discourage unrealistic aspirations.

Reward systems for the vocational educator are less distinct than for the trainees. The increased emphasis upon vocational education during the 1960s forced many institutions to acknowledge vocational competence on the salary scale in lieu of academic accomplishments, in order to entice vocational instructors to move from the nonprofessional world of work to the professional world of education.

Having demonstrated their interest in social mobility by becoming teachers, vocational educators will continue to be concerned about their place in the educational establishment. They will continue to chafe under the yoke of reward structures emphasizing academic criteria. Some will obtain more formal education, but many will not. Those who do will be candidates for leadership positions in the expanding vocational sector of the educational establishment.

The value of vocational education will continue to be emphasized by vocational educators. Leaders in the profession will reassure the rank and file that they are important to the welfare of the nation, that they are meeting social and economic needs by offering to both young and old satisfying careers and new purpose in life, and that they are part of an honorable profession. Such an infusion of value will help retain and motivate vocational leaders, build commitment within the ranks, and offset their marginal status in the educational community.

THE SPECIALIZED EXPERT

Finally, the expert will continue to triumph over the cultural man. Early in this century Max Weber called attention to the "ever-increasing importance of expert and specialized knowledge,"²³ and suggested that the specialist may replace the broader, cultivated man. Today this trend is evident in the emphasis on vocationalism. Vocationalism calls for specialized curricula, specialized methods of teaching, specialized staff, specialized administrators, and specialized institutions, and it produces specialized alumni. Specialization in vocational education will lead to increased differentiation, diversity, and heterogeneity in American society. It will make communication between various occupations more difficult.

and will blunt the development of broad social relations. Communication will tend to occur in compatible, homogeneous, exclusive, reinforcing groups composed of people sharing common technical and cultural interests. In general, students will be trained, not in broad cultural terms, but in technical knowledge and skills.

It is ironical that social problems catapulted vocational education into national prominence, but that vocational education offers only limited, specialized, technical, asocial answers. Although some perceptive leaders in vocational education affirm the interdependence of vocational and academic disciplines, the question raised by Clark in the closing lines of *Educating the Expert Society* is still the question:

Can the educational enterprise develop the capability to educate as broadly as the curriculum turns toward technical thought and men train for specialized occupations? The basic trends of a technological society move the perspectives of the technical man toward the center of educational affairs, while edging the style and the knowledge of the nontechnical generalist toward the periphery. The efforts to bring liberal education to the expert constitute a social response to the strain—an attempt to avoid a barbarism of men acute in technical judgment but myopic in social affairs, politics, and cultural understanding. The future of the expert society challenges education to close a gap that in the natural course of affairs will ever widen.²⁴

Notes

- 1 Melvin L. Barlow, *History of Industrial Education in the United States*, Peoria: Charles A. Bennet Co., 1967, p. 15.
- 2 For two excellent discussions of the historical evolution of industrial education in America, see Berenice M. Fisher, *Industrial Education American Ideals and Institutions*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967; and Barlow.
- 3 Computed from data supplied by U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, *Enrollment in Vocational Education, Fiscal Year 1972*.
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- 6 The effects of these three forces upon the development of manpower policy have been discussed by Stanley H. Ruttenberg and Jocelyn Gutchess, *Manpower Challenge of the 1960's: Institutions and Social Change*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960, pp. 1-4.
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- definitions do not completely resolve all conceptual problems. Others, because of their vested interests, will disagree with these definitions.
- 8 Sidney P. Marland, Jr., "Marland on Career Education," Washington Government Printing Office, 1972, reprinted from *American Education* (November 1971).
 - 9 Grant Venn, *Man, Education and Work Postsecondary Vocational and Technical Education*, Washington American Council on Education, 1964, p. 1.
 - 10 For a comparison of higher education programs with occupational status, see Burton R. Clark, *The Open Door College*, New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960, pp. 168-171.
 - 11 Robert W. Hodge, Paul M. Siegal, and Peter H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States 1925-1963," *American Journal of Sociology*, 72 (1966), 286-295.
 - 12 For an overview of contemporary teacher education programs in vocational education, see *Vocational Education The Bridge Between Man and His Work*, Report of the Advisory Council on Vocational Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington Government Printing Office, 1968, pp. 80-94.
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 - 14 Bruce Reinhart and Patrick J. Weagraff, *The AMIDS Program A Comprehensive Report of the First Year*, Los Angeles Division of Vocational Education, University of California, 1970.
 - 15 For a review of studies on the social class origin of teachers, see Orville G. Brum, Jr., *Sociology and the Field of Education*, New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1958, pp. 29-31. For data on the origins of vocational educators see studies by Barlow and Reinhart.
 - 16 See footnote 13.
 - 17 Donald E. Super, *The Psychology of Careers*, New York Harper and Bros., 1957, pp. 17-18.
 - 18 Clark, *The Open Door College*.
 - 19 For a colorful description of the reorganization difficulties within the Department of Labor, see Ruttenberg and Gutchess, pp. 74-97.
 - 20 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
 - 21 Ibid., p. 19.
 - 22 For an excellent discussion of institutional character and distinctive competence and the difficulties in changing established character and competence, see Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration A Sociological Interpretation*, Evanston Row, Peterson and Co., 1957, pp. 42-52.

- 23 H H Gerth and C Wright Mills (eds), *From Max Weber Essays in Sociology*, New York Oxford University Press, 1946, p 243
 24 Clark, *Educating the Expert Society*, pp 290-291

Suggestions for Further Reading

- Advisory Council on Vocational Education, *Vocational Education The Bridge Between Man and His Work* Washington U S Office of Education, 1968
 Reviews the impact of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 on education in the United States and makes numerous recommendations that have been subsequently incorporated in the 1968 Amendments to the Act
- Brum, Orville G *Sociology and the Field of Education* New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1958 A brief review and assessment of sociological studies in education Somewhat dated
- Barlow, Melvin L *History of Industrial Education in the United States* Peoria Charles A. Bennett, 1967 A historical study of vocational education with emphasis on industrial education
- Clark, Burton R *Educating the Expert Society* San Francisco Chandler, 1962 An excellent study in the sociology of education that explores many contemporary problems
- Clark, Burton R *The Open Door College A Case Study* New York McGraw-Hill, 1960 An excellent institutional study of a junior college, which identifies problems related to vocational education at the postsecondary level
- Evans, Rupert N *Foundations of Vocational Education* Columbus Charles E Merrill, 1971 This overview of vocational education develops numerous sociopsychological implications
- Goldhammer, Keith, and Robert E Taylor, (eds) *Career Education Perspective and Promise* Columbus Charles E Merrill, 1972 A series of papers developing the concepts, issues, problems, and programs related to career education
- Law, Gordon F, (ed) *Contemporary Concepts in Vocational Education* Washington American Vocational Association, 1971 A yearbook of the major professional associations in vocational education illustrating how the profession views itself relative to the rest of education and society
- Levitin, Sar A, and Garth L Mangum, (eds) *Federal Training and Work Programs in the Sixties* Ann Arbor Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1969 Brings together, with further interpretation, a number of previously published policy papers that evaluated the federally supported manpower programs of the 1960s
- Marland, Sidney P, Jr *Career Education A Proposal for Reform*. New York McGraw Hill, 1974 The initiator of the contemporary career education movement in America describes the goals and characteristics of the movement and provides some examples
- Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education *Education for a Changing World of Work* Washington U S Office of Education, 1962 Considers

the educational needs of all nonprofessional workers in relation to public education and makes numerous recommendations that have been subsequently incorporated in the Vocational Education Act of 1963 Appendix III contains a paper by Harold F Clark entitled, 'A Sociological Analysis of Vocational Education in the United States'

Somers, Gerald G, and J Kenneth Little, (eds) *Vocational Education Today and Tomorrow* Madison University of Wisconsin, 1971 A series of papers that address some of the major issues confronting vocational educators today

Terkel, Studs *Working* New York Pantheon Books, 1972 One hundred and thirty-three people talk about what they do all day on the job and how they feel about what they do

Venn, Grant. *Man, Education and Manpower* Washington The American Association of School Administrators, 1970 Delinicates the role of education in developing manpower needs in a highly technological society

Work in America Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of HEW Cambridge MIT Press, 1973 An especially good survey of the contemporary problems and issues, especially in education, related to work in America

III THE EDUCATION OF MINORITIES



Nevertheless, some of the problems experienced by Indians are similar to those confronting other minorities, even though they may live in quite different places.

Women, too, can be considered an underprivileged group, even though they are not a numerical minority. Many women are well off economically, but this affluence is more likely to result from their husband's or parents' success than from their own. Women who try to succeed by themselves in business or the professions have an uphill struggle and, in general, have a narrower range of occupational choice than men do. In many ways it is a man's world, and the educational system helps to keep it this way.

The fourth type of student is the activist. Many activists are white, middle class, male, and successful in school. Because they do not obviously suffer from racial or sexual discrimination, economic deprivation, or cultural disadvantage activists are bewildering to many people, and various explanations have been offered for their turbulent behavior.

Historical Background

The development of public education in the United States has not proceeded uniformly in all areas. Even after the principle of free public schooling was generally established, many people questioned its desirability, and thousands of youngsters, because of custom, law, economics, or residence, were denied the opportunity for education. Alabama enacted a statute in 1832 making it a crime to instruct a Negro, free or slave, in the arts of reading and writing. Persons found guilty of this offense were subject to fines of \$250 to \$500.¹ Indians were believed to be ineducable in the higher intellectual skills and more suited for simple vocational training.² During much of the nineteenth century, it was thought that women did not need education since their place was in the home.³

Nevertheless, by 1919 all states had enacted compulsory school attendance laws, though not all children actually attended school. The great waves of immigration from other countries had ended but population movement within the United States continued. The depression of the 1930s, combined with drought drove many people from the farms to the cities. This trend continued in the 1940s, as the burgeoning war industries offered thousands of jobs at higher wages than many people had ever dreamed of, a boon particularly to minority members who, for the first time were accepted into many jobs previously closed to them.

The Supreme Court decision of 1954 was a landmark in the education of minorities, it outlawed the provision of "separate but equal" schools.

for blacks and whites. Of course, it did not bring complete integration — this still has not been achieved — but it increased pressures against blatant educational inequality.

Three years later, the Soviet Union's orbiting of the first artificial satellite caused additional scrutiny of American schooling. Many people who had previously been unconcerned about the moral and legal implications of educational inequality now saw it as a matter of self-interest; they accepted the idea that national survival in an age of complex technology and nuclear weapons demanded the utilization of *all* our manpower, regardless of color or class. Scientists and admirals joined educators and politicians in urging high-level reforms.

Meanwhile, the civil rights movement exerted pressure for change at the grassroots level. The results were a deluge of new federal programs in the early 1960s under the auspices of such agencies as the Job Corps, Head Start, Teacher Corps, Manpower Development and Training, and Neighborhood Youth Corps, and those authorized by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Along with these hopeful signs, however, there was violence. In the South, lynching Negroes had been an established custom, but resentment was now also directed toward white civil rights workers, many of them students from Northern campuses. The assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 was followed a year later by student demonstrations at major universities, and before long by ghetto riots, white backlash, and the war in Southeast Asia.

The Kerner Commission in 1968, probing the causes of civil disorder, warned that "none of us can escape the consequences of the continuing economic and social decay of the central city and the closely related problem of rural poverty."⁴ Yet, when the fury at home and abroad subsided in the early 1970s, so did money and high-level concern for the poor. Many programs for the disadvantaged were threatened by congressional indifference or presidential veto. As the Kerner Commission had predicted, the nation continued its separation into two societies — one mostly white, in suburbs and outlying areas, the other, mostly non-white, in the central cities.⁵ Furthermore,

- . . . the bleak record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. In the critical skills — verbal and reading ability — Negro students fall further behind whites with each year of school completed.⁶

The situation of other groups, though perhaps less obvious, is still far from good. Indians, for example, remain as forgotten Americans, remembered only occasionally when events like the incident at Wounded Knee flash across television screens.

Women constitute a smaller percentage of college students and faculty today than fifty years ago, and the percentage of professional and technical jobs held by women has dropped since 1940.⁷

And what about the student activist? The reduction of American intervention in Vietnam removed one major target of the activists, but other problems persist at home and abroad.

Failure of Compensatory Programs

On the whole, attempts to assist minorities have not been as successful as had been hoped, and many programs have been cut back or eliminated altogether. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, after reviewing many compensatory programs, concluded that they had not produced lasting improvements in student achievement 'because they have attempted to solve problems that stem, in large part, from racial and social class isolation in schools which themselves are isolated by race and social class'.⁸ The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children stated

It has long been clear that the mere addition of people, equipment, and special services does not by itself constitute compensatory education; success in making up for the educational deprivation which stems from poverty requires a strategy for blending these resources in an integrated program that strikes at both roots and consequences of disadvantage. The details of this strategy, however, have by no means been clear.⁹

The Council further noted the difficulty of determining which elements, in those programs that were effective, contributed to success, though it did observe that successful programs were distinguished by two characteristics they established specific goals and concentrated their efforts on these objectives.¹⁰

Two other organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Washington Research Project, criticized the way in which federal programs were administered. Reviewing school systems across the nation, they concluded that ESEA programs missed many eligible children, did not concentrate on the most serious needs of children, purchased hardware instead of instructional programs, and did not adequately involve parents and communities in carrying out the programs.¹¹ Passow has observed

This review of the administration of Title I funds at the local, state, and federal levels, raised serious questions about whether the pessimistic evaluations of compensatory programs were due to mismanagement and misapplication of funds rather than to the nature of the programs themselves. The report

reinforced observations made earlier that compensatory education had not failed — rather, it had never really been tried as yet¹²

These comments bring up an extremely important point, not simply about compensatory education, but about American education generally. What accounts for the schools' present lack of success? Are they really unable to do better, or is it merely that their current approaches are wrong? Have compensatory programs, or different approaches to reading instruction, for example, really been given an adequate trial? If not, why not?

Several possible explanations come to mind. One is professional orthodoxy and rigidity. Most schools today, whether in ghettos or in affluent suburbs, are staffed with teachers and administrators who were trained in the same methods at similar colleges and who belong to the same professional organizations and read the same professional journals. Consequently, they tend to have the same basic ideas about what is good for children. If given more money, these educators are likely to try more of the same rather than to consider seriously a radically different approach.

Another possible factor is that some educators do not believe that basic skills in literacy are really important. Instead, they feel that other things, such as maturity, emotional stability, personality, or citizenship, should receive first consideration. If children learn to read well, that is fine, but they can still be worthwhile people without good reading skills.

A third possible factor is an actual opposition to educating minorities. Some people fear that good education for minorities may lead to job competition from them or loss of control over them blacks, Indians, women, and others who have traditionally done much of society's dirty work, whether in the factory, farm, office, or home, might no longer be willing to accept their lowly places.

Thus, the difficulties connected with minority education arise from several sources. Along with the familiar problems of bureaucracy, insufficient resources, and the deep roots of disadvantage, there are also lack of knowledge about better instructional methods, low priority on basic skills, and perhaps even an opposition to these skills.

At any rate, minority education in the United States has serious defects, and these will be examined in the following chapters.

Black education is discussed by Dr Nathan Hare, former publisher of the *Black Scholar*. Author and activist, he was director of the first Black Studies program at San Francisco State and has also taught at Howard University.

Indian education is examined by Dr Clara Sue Kidwell of the Native American Studies Department at the University of California. Of Choctaw, Chippewa, and Creek ancestry, she has also taught at Haskell Indian Junior College and the University of Minnesota.

Women's education is analyzed by Lois Swift, an elementary teacher for ten years, and now Chairperson of the Learning Materials Committee, Hawaii Task Force on Sex Bias in Education.

James Wood received his Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley, where he was a close observer of student activism throughout the turbulent sixties.

Notes

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- 3 Mabel Newcomer, 'Women's Education Facts, Findings, and Apparent Trends,' *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors* (October 1960), p. 35
- 4 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, New York Bantam Books 1968, p. 410
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid., p. 425
- 7 Mabel Newcomer, "Women's Education Facts, Findings, and Apparent Trends," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors* (October 1960), p. 36, U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1972, Washington, D.C., September 1972, table 87, p. 74, Women's Bureau, Workplace Standards Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, *Underutilization of Women Workers*, Washington, D.C., 1971 revised, p. 9, and *Today's Education* (September-October 1973), p. 95
- 8 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 205
- 9 National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, *Title I ESEA A Review and a Forward Look*, Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1969, p. 3, quoted in Passow, p. 12
- 10 A. Harry Passow, 'Urban Education in the 1970's,' in A. Harry Passow, *Urban Education in the 1970's*, New York Teachers College Press, 1971, p. 12
- 11 Ibid. p. 13
- 12 Ibid.

BLACK EDUCATION**NATHAN HARE DAVID W. SWIFT**

During the slavery era it was unlawful to teach a black slave to read or write. Later, white missionaries from the North did take up such work, even to the college level, in order to train black Americans as theologians for the purpose of "civilizing heathens in Africa." But in both state-supported and missionary schools, blacks were set apart in inferior and ill-equipped school rooms, it was then illegal in many states to aid or abet the teaching of blacks in integrated settings.

Today, conditions are different in many respects but nevertheless poignant—as we shall see in detail later. From 1870 to 1969, there was a drop in nonwhite illiteracy from 80 percent to only 36 percent.¹ However, illiteracy remains almost five times as high among blacks as among whites, and nonwhites are only half as likely as whites to complete one or more years of college. Of the nonwhite category, blacks attained the lowest educational level of all races except Indians.² What is the background and nature of the black race's educational problems in America?

For part of the answer we must go back to the origins of the American educational system itself. When the norms and values of the American educational system were evolving, the system was private instead of public, and only the affluent could afford much formal schooling. The wealthy who dominated education had a leisure-class mentality wherein they sought conspicuously to display their apartness from manual workers by attaching prestige to nonproductive endeavor.³ Thus education frequently emphasized the abstract over the practical. Much time was spent on "useless" endeavors such as syntax and the mastery of lofty jargon that, because it was incomprehensible, was able to pass for the profound.

Eventually, the forces of production led to overorganization and industrialization and produced a type of learning that, far from interfering with the leisure-class legacy, merely complemented it. At one extreme stood the totally irrelevant academicians, and, at the other, the industrial specialists, centering their vision on a narrow sector which cut them off from the world and its daily life. Leisure-class education created dandies, specialized education too often created pragmatists and moral zombies largely devoid of imagination or compassion in the exercise of their skills.

For black students, the problem was compounded by subtle forms of racism and by the consequences of black students' experiences in the society which the educational system serves. Black students are descendants of a people cut off from their attachment to land, culture, and country, and thus robbed of pride in pastness (the roots of identity) so essential as a springboard for a sense of collective destiny—a people shut off from significant involvement in the educational process. Today, the problem is still significantly aggravated by black invisibility in the curriculum and related activities. Although by 1970 three fourths of all black college students were enrolled in colleges with a white majority,⁴ the curriculum still remains white-oriented at the college level and all other levels, regardless of whether the schools have a white or a black majority.

The next section of this chapter reviews the major historical developments in the education of blacks in the United States. The section following examines general problems confronting blacks in public schools today. Then the educational experiences of one black student are analyzed in detail, and possibilities are suggested for improving black education generally. The fourth section discusses Black Studies, and the final section looks at the American racial situation and predicts some future developments.

grounds for denying education to blacks¹¹ This misconception led to blatant discrimination in the allocation of state funds for education and also played a part to some extent in the distribution of federal funds¹²

The mass migration of blacks to northern communities during and after World War I increased educational opportunities for many blacks It was not uncommon for black families to move to the North specifically to obtain better education for their children However, the problems black children encountered were not unlike those of immigrant children These problems — new places, new faces, new ways of doing things — were compounded by specific policies of segregation Thus, there soon arose the issue of segregated versus integrated schools, this issue has intensified and remains with us, in one form or another, to this day With World War II and increasing black migration, nationwide attention began to focus on the educational problems of blacks¹³

Following the social reforms of the Depression era, "the separate but equal" doctrine had come under scrutiny in the courts As early as 1938 the Supreme Court decreed that the state of Missouri would have to admit blacks to the University of Missouri Law School or provide equal law school facilities for black students The state established an all-black law school at Lincoln University Subsequently, the mass migration of blacks to the North and West during World War II had an additional effect on the flow of ideas regarding racial matters By 1948 the Supreme Court had ordered the University of Texas to admit a black man on grounds that black educational facilities in the state were not equal¹⁴

A further test case came in the case of *Sipuel V Board of Education* Ada Lois Sipuel sought admission to the University of Oklahoma's law school The Court decreed that the state must provide Ms Sipuel and other blacks an equal opportunity to study law at the state institution, along with other citizens Although the state announced that a law school for blacks would be established, the Court granted Ms Sipuel admission to the University of Oklahoma Law School in 1949¹⁵

Backing the legal battle for school desegregation was the NAACP, which in 1952 supported the Brown family of Topeka, Kansas, in a legal battle to enroll their daughter in an all-white school After two years of litigation, the Supreme Court handed down its famous *Brown V Board of Education* decision This decision not only was a turning point in the education of black people in the United States, it is also generally acknowledged to be the beginning of the modern civil rights movement Based on the testimony of behavioral and social scientists, it declared that separate but equal education was inherently unequal The decision concentrated the movement in the courtroom, in the South, and gave

hp service legitimacy to the ideals of assimilation, all of which ensured the support of northern white liberals¹⁶

The *Brown V Board of Education decision* (in 1954) by the Supreme Court decreed desegregation "with all deliberate speed" To many segregationists, this meant "gradual" if not "never" Some schools openly barred blacks The National Guard had to be mobilized to force Arkansas Governor Orville Faubus to relent Governor George Wallace of Alabama personally stood in the doorway of a school to prevent desegregation Eventually, in 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave the Office of Education the power to withdraw federal aid from schools that failed to meet the integration requirements of the Act However, this power was seldom exercised and many schools remained segregated Thus, in 1966 in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, states in the deep South, the percentage of blacks who were in school with whites was only about 3 percent As late as 1969 only 20 percent of the black students nationwide were in schools with whites¹⁷

In 1972 school desegregation was continued but with fewer gains The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported that 36.8 percent of black children were enrolled in predominantly white schools, compared with 33.1 percent in 1970 and 23.4 percent in 1968¹⁸

As a matter of fact, subsequent to the Supreme Court decision of 1954, while integration followed at a snail's pace in the South, segregation actually increased in the black ghettos of the North Part of this lack of progress was due to segregation in housing and the neighborhood school system But other factors, such as gerrymandering and the mass exodus of whites from areas inhabited by blacks, compounded the segregation of the schools¹⁹

By the late sixties, as a result of whites fleeing to the suburbs and parochial schools, blacks constituted a majority of public school students in nine of the fifteen largest American cities This trend continues and is expected to result in a black majority in the public schools of all fifteen cities by the end of the 1970s²⁰

Thus emerged the issue of de facto segregation in the North as distinguished from the old de jure segregation in the South Based on the neighborhood school concept and sustained by residential segregation, de facto segregation poses a national issue for the seventies and is being fought within and outside the courts

To solve this problem, integrationists have advocated and instituted busing programs to attain a more balanced proportion of blacks and whites in schools In 1971, *Swann V Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* established specific guidelines for school desegregation, including schools segregated as a result of present or past discriminatory action

The remedies enumerated by the court listed busing and the elimination of the neighborhood school system where it interferred with racial desegregation.²¹ While busing increased in the sixties and early seventies, the issues remain to be settled and may escalate to new heights. Although no busing from suburban to inner city schools is now taking place, it has been proposed, and two bitter struggles involving Detroit and Richmond, Virginia, where lower courts ordered such measures, are now in appeal.²²

Because blacks were denied admission to most colleges — and nowhere were admitted in significant numbers — Negro colleges were established largely in the South. Much of this effort stemmed from missionaries' efforts to train preachers for saving the heathens of Africa and America. However, the Negro college impetus also was aided by federal land grant college funds. These came "at a time when the inferior status of the Negro in the South was being fixed in law as well as custom."²³ The curricula and the regulations of these colleges reflected the general society's expectation of a lowly and servile status for blacks. Until recently most black students received their college education in the segregated Negro colleges of the South. Today the tables are turning, and black students are entering white colleges in the North and the South. To some extent, though cautiously and reluctantly, colleges are acknowledging the special demands of black education. Today, even some white colleges in the deep South offer at least some Black Studies courses.

The Black Studies movement — and more about that later — grew out of the upsurge of black consciousness during the late 1960s. Its initial impetus was felt almost as soon as black students returned to the campuses after the "black power" onslaught of the summer of 1966. However, Black Studies did not crystallize as a movement until 1968–1969, when the nation was rocked by dozens of black college student uprisings and demands for fairer treatment.

The call was for an education "more relevant" to black students' needs and experiences, and an education which would unite the isolated and alienated black students with their community. Black Studies was also to be a pedagogical device — a palatable entree into the complexities of academia, including the hard sciences — for black students suffering the emotional and cognitive effects of generations of exclusions from the educational process. However, most college administrations, through fear and ignorance of this approach (clouded as it was by demands for black autonomy and control) resisted the emergence of Black Studies courses outside the humanities and social sciences. Thus, Black Studies became almost exclusively the study of blackness, because most early advocates of autonomy and a new kind of scholarship were dismissed in the case of professors, and jailed or intimidated in the case of students.

Nevertheless, since the turn of the century black educational attainment has consistently increased, generally faster than that of whites.²⁴ The black consciousness movement particularly multiplied black attendance at the college level in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This trend may be expected to continue, despite intermittent opposition. However, the inequality of education between blacks and whites will continue to reveal itself in the quality and nature of education received in the primary and secondary schools of the inner city.

Black Education Today

Early in their educational career black students encounter the subordinating effect of white supremacy. Even modes of communication, for instance, compel them to lose their "in group dialect" and imitate the white race. Verbal facility is then frankly presented to the black student as a salient ingredient for admission to college.

Teachers' attitudes often aggravate the situation. Those who do the most damage are teachers who, for one reason or another, have been unable to obtain transfers out to the middle class and/or white areas with which they identify. This frustration creates a sense of discontent in their minds, contempt for their students and, in many cases, a feeling of inferiority toward themselves as teachers. They are inclined not to identify with the area in which they work or with their pupils, consequently, they often develop a practice of doing just enough to get by. They see slum parents as the finished products on which their pupils will be modeled — "they're going to be just like their fathers." Instead of demanding a significant level of excellence from their students, many teachers expect little from them and give up too easily when pupils encounter difficulties in learning.

Such teachers pass the school day as if they were strangers to their students. Listen to some of them (all black females):

You can call it ignorance, but I was afraid. When I looked at it (the slum neighborhood) I'd say 'hands off' and 'keep out.' Strangers are not welcome. I'd be just riding through. I don't know what I was afraid of — not rape, I never thought of that. I was afraid of being hurt though afraid they would think I was an intruder, an outsider. I could sit in their dirt. But they might ask you something and you answer back and they'll smack the wind out of you.

From another, a veteran of six years in the slums:

The school policy is "don't visit." There were cases of white teachers having been attacked by fathers, especially when the teacher visited unannounced. This is what we were told. You know, white persons were training us.

And another, who said she tried but was slapped in the face by parental rejection

We middle class will not open the door, but we will listen or pretend not to be home They, the slum parent, will just say, "I don't want none of that," and —bam!— slam the door If they thought somebody, even in their own group, was uppity, they'd slam the door on her

Unfortunately, people who are ill suited to working with children and who are insensitive to their needs often wind up in a classroom Such teachers draw back in horror at the prospect of a loving touch from their pupils for fear of disease or the possibility of an unkempt child's soiling their expensive clothing Still others see their main role or their most feasible accomplishment as merely maintaining discipline in the classroom They have difficulty forcing slum children to accept middle-class concepts of proper deportment They are perplexed by the fact that many slum children have already lost confidence, if they ever had it, in middle class values of conformity and tenacity

There is an influx of younger and more idealistic teachers but they are limited by the controls of the system Principals and supervisors rule with an iron hand, constantly probing and policing what teachers teach, at what time of day, what can or cannot be put on bulletin boards, or what can be discussed in class in what way

The contrast between pupils and teachers is compounded by the fact that it is not enough for teachers to be middle class individuals, they also feel it is necessary to portray that fact to others Bourgeois teachers in a slum school thus try to make others aware of their higher status They regard as saucy and slovenly the mannerisms that slum boys exhibit as symbols of ghetto sophistication and thwarted manliness At the same time, slum boys resist teachers' efforts to commit them to "good listening" (say, Beethoven and Liszt—"esthetic sophistication"), which they regard as a sissified activity The conflict here is between the two cultures and what constitutes "good" behavior or "good" music Neither teacher nor pupils are able to understand or accept criteria that are alien to their own worlds

Other indications that the mores, mannerisms, and values of middle-class teachers clash with those of black ghetto children are widely known Long dull drills in phonics are not sufficient to erase the language barrier between pupil and teacher, compounded in some cases by racial dialect The child accustomed to the manner of speaking in the black ghetto may find it difficult to decipher the teacher's pronunciation of even simple words as "dog," "car," or "on" The problem is intensified by the language of prejudice, in which the black child learns that white symbolizes

purity while black denotes evil, despair, and virtually all things that are *not* nice

Many children learn as early as kindergarten not to go along with everything the teacher says and especially not to tell the teacher the truth about themselves. One or two punitive experiences, let alone the advice of an older sibling, a playmate, or a parent, are enough to teach them that lesson.

Not all of the slum school's strife is due to the alienation of teacher and pupil, however. Much of it is a product of the nature of our educational system as an institution and its corresponding administrative tactics. In the typical elementary school a mandatory "devotional" period forces children to participate in various ceremonial activities. These include empty, hypocritical allegiances to nationalistic symbols and, in spite of the Supreme Court decision, some form of deference to God.

Because one of the school's functions—in addition to conveying conventional knowledge and perfunctory skills and "learning habits"—is to transmit loyalty to the status quo and proper deportment, walls are plastered with such admonitions as "we brush our teeth," "we comb our hair," "we sit up tall," with little or no attention to whether the child has toothpaste and a brush. The child without such equipment and habits soon senses that these things are to be espoused at school but forgotten on the outside. Such a child is understandably relieved and anxious when his bored teacher lines him up to wait until the clock strikes three.

Thus, many black slum children fall victims to a persecution complex and give up entirely in despair. Anthropologist Allison Davis, for example, has described how middle class children are praised and generally catered to by teachers and parents, while lower class children are punished and threatened by both.²⁵

To rationalize their failure to reach the black ghetto child, teachers and sociologists theorize that low income children, particularly black children, have "lower levels of aspiration"—in other words, are generally happy with their lot.

To consolidate the rationalization for this induced defeatism, middle-class teachers and administrators swamp black slum children with tests standardized on middle class culture and experience. Some schools give "reading readiness" tests consisting of pictorial representations of such concepts as kennel (dog house), moccasins, rhinoceros, and other oddities to which children have supposedly been exposed. Even after black slum children have succeeded in demonstrating that they are ready to learn to read, they are generally confronted with books depicting middle class white children in (for them) atypical surroundings.

They are subjected to a bevy of white children doing alien things and literally talking double—"oh, oh, look, look, see, see, up, up, come, come" White kids may talk like that, but the black ghetto child is more likely to say "You better come on here, boy"

This white orientation came home to me in a rural first grade class when I completed the white readers, the regular books, a bit early and was given a "colored reader" (now out of print) with black characters in it. But the reader predictably retained the white American stereotypes of blacks "Tick, tock, says the clock It is day, Johnnie Mae Out of bed, sleepyhead Up, up, and away"

Then there was, for instance, a story of Booker T Washington, who, as a nice colored boy of eight, had dashed into his burning house to save the Bible After that, he placed his belongings in a red handkerchief, tied them to a stick, and went out into the Great White World to become a great man

The black child is at a particular disadvantage when the methods and materials are irrelevant to children's lives and experiences Almost any black first grader, along with his/her white counterpart, is called upon to recite nonsensical rhymes doubly irrelevant to the black child's life such as "Hey, diddle, diddle The cat played the fiddle The cow jumped over the moon! The little dog laughed to see such sport and the dish took off with the spoon!"

In arithmetic, in the sixth grade, black children are assigned reading problems referring to "stocks and bonds," which they, if fresh from a rural background, may conceive of as mules and cattle They may be taught how to write a promissory note, something they may never see in their lives, at least not until much later when it would constitute no special problem aside from paying the debt

In other courses the problem is the same I will never forget how the white students responded when I was the only black member of a seventh-grade class in San Diego, California One day the teacher was reading to us from *The Yearling* a then popular novel At last she came to the point where it read that "the raccoon's paws looked like a little nigger baby's hands" The white students turned around and looked at me in apparent sympathy while the seemingly oblivious teacher read on

Many experiences that can turn them off confront black college students in the typical white college classroom For example, they must sit silently bemused while their eminent sociology professor reports solemnly but proudly that his surveys show there will be no riots in Chicago because (as one suggested early in September of 1967) only 7 percent of blacks surveyed say they definitely approve of riots This professor may later have been perplexed when rioting broke out in

Chicago on the heels of Martin Luther King's assassination, but he is not likely to alter the methods or standards of "scholarly excellence" which he requires his black students to accept.

Furthermore, the black student instinctively, if only faintly, is affronted by the fact that foreign languages required are exclusively of white European origin, though Oriental languages may be offered as electives — this requirement is maintained in spite of the fact that Chinese is spoken by more individuals than any other language in the world, and Swahili, an African language, competes favorably with German.

Sociology classes will discuss the merits of the Moynihan Report on the black family, unaware of the implications of Moynihan's own figures showing, for example, that for every 100 nonwhite males between the ages of 25 and 40 in New York City there are 33 extra females. At the same time, the condition is intensified by the disproportionate rates at which black males die in foreign wars, depleting the supply of eligible black men. This cold demographic fact will lead to family disorganization and a high rate of adultery, no matter how "moral" or "stable" (as social scientists say) black sexual codes might be.

Similarly, anthropology professors will subject black students to discussions on family disorganization among Africans in Kenya, for example, impervious to the fact that much family strife was brought about by Christian missionaries. The missionaries imported an alien monogamy which, replacing the existing polygamy evidently geared to the demographic and socioeconomic needs of the people, displaced surplus wives (in order to "save" them) and produced much of the family disorganization which anthropologists get grants and trips abroad to study.

Courses in European history skip over the slave trade, while courses in American history mention black persons only with reference to slavery and the myth that Lincoln's restricted Emancipation Proclamation freed all of them. Courses and textbooks in literature remain lily white. Many white students, spurred by involvement in civil rights activities and the daily prominence of the black struggle in news coverage, are becoming aware of these curious omissions, but it is ever so much more painful when the student is black. Hence the current demand for Black Studies.

One Pupil's Experience

This section presents some educational experiences of a lower-class black from Oklahoma. These experiences are offered here for two reasons. First, to give the white reader some idea of a black student's problems. Second, to illustrate several points which might enable us to improve

black education generally In this case, the story has a happy ending the student (who happens to be me) eventually received a Ph D from the University of Chicago However, we should bear in mind that most blacks are not so fortunate, if I, a basically good student, almost dropped out of high school, we can conclude that the pressures on other black students are even more severe

I attended elementary school in a small Oklahoma town and was a good student Then in the eighth grade I moved to California and entered a large junior high school in San Diego We changed classes every hour, and I got a new teacher and a new batch of classmates I was lost there, one black in a sea of white faces, and I became a poor student To the teachers I was 'just another lower class Negro'—and I soon began to act like one

First of all, I came from Oklahoma, which was a bad thing in itself, during World War II This made me an Okie, and a black Okie at that Furthermore, I lived in a housing project, made of cheap prefabricated buildings It was across a little creek from the school in a middle class white area There were two thousand whites and twenty or twenty five blacks at the school, and all of the blacks came from the project They could have gerrymandered us out but they did not bother because there were only a couple of dozen of us, and so they let us go across to the white middle class school

As described in *Who Shall Be Educated*,²⁸ the lower classes were pushed into vocational courses, the lower middle into clerical, and college preparation was, and is, for the upper middle classes So, being black and lower class, I was pushed into shop courses, although I wanted to major in modern languages and take algebra

If you sit in the back of the classroom and read, and are quiet, that satisfies most teachers I read a lot at the San Diego school, almost a book a day I was reading in class, but not what we were assigned to read because it did not interest me I read almost every book in the junior high school library but still I made mostly D's, with an occasional C now and then I was not conforming to the teachers' bureaucratic requirements I was not handing in assignments nor always paying attention in class I was not giving them evidence that they could see in this mass situation There were a couple of indications that might have attracted their attention, but at this large school occasional instances like writing a good English paper or getting a very high score on the qualification test for algebra were ignored

One day the eighth grade English teacher had us write a paper in class Usually he told us to write one at home and bring it in the next day Other kids would get help from their parents but I would not

do my paper at all. This time the teacher had us write the paper in class, and he was astounded at how well mine was done. He praised me for it but still did not change his attitude about me. He just shrugged off my good performance and went on.

It was he who would not let me take Spanish although I wanted to major in modern languages. We had to get our English teacher's approval before taking Spanish. He refused, saying it would be difficult for me because of my poor performance in English.

By the way, my teacher was not a racist. I had a lot of interaction with him because he was my homeroom teacher. One time he came to me and asked me to try to help keep the other blacks from getting into a segregated situation at lunchtime, when all the blacks packed together. He did not like that, he was a liberal type.

I wanted to take algebra but they did not allow me to, even though I made the second highest score in the entire school on the qualification tests. They did not give me any reason for refusing and I was not aggressive enough to demand one. I did not think it would do any good. We were terrified about going to the vice-principal's office because this was where we were sent when we were acting up. Instead of algebra and Spanish, I was assigned to shop classes. So I went and sat in the wood shop class and the metal shop class and the electric shop class. I did not like it but I did not know what I could do about it. I made a little motor which turned a propeller, and a sugar scoop and some donut cutters. I had no notion at that time about going to college. I intended to be a professional boxer. It may have been the school's fault or it may have been the result of my environment. But either way, pupils should be allowed to take the courses they want so that if they decide to go to college they will be prepared.

If I had remained in San Diego I probably would have dropped out of school. I would not have had the Spanish, algebra, and other courses required for college. That, compounded by my environment, would have probably pushed me to drop out and get a job, and skip the whole education thing completely. This is what my sister did. She was three years older than I, and she left school to go to work.

At the end of October I returned to Oklahoma, where I continued to make D's. Then the teachers began to ask about the change. They pressed me, sometimes bringing it up before the whole class, saying "California schools don't teach you anything. Look what they did to Nathan. He used to be a good student but now he isn't."

I did not want to go back to Oklahoma. I liked California better and I identified with it. Therefore, I was motivated to show them that California did not teach me poorly, and I started doing my work. The

improvement really began with the English teacher, who was the dominant teacher in the school. We had only four teachers in the high school. She had us doing grammar orally, in class, not taking it home to do "Let's see who can conjugate these verbs" "Who can pick out the error in this sentence?"

Then she saw that I was the only one who knew some of the answers. She asked about that "I didn't know you knew all that!" she said.

I replied that I knew it all the time but I just did not like the whole thing "I don't like writing the reports I don't like the books you chose."

So she said "You choose the books you want I don't care which books you choose."

We did not have many books anyway Our school library was the size of a small kitchen in a private home The white school gave us the castoff books they did not want

After that I began to get praise This teacher told the others and they reacted favorably, too, and began to expect good performance from me. This expectation was communicated to me in various ways, and sometimes I was given the benefit of the doubt

There was at that time a statewide contest among black high school students The standard subjects were covered history, English, algebra, and so forth Our English teacher gave commercial, standardized tests to see who would represent her class The other teachers picked whoever they thought was the best student, sometimes thinking that a student was the best one in the class merely because he liked the teacher and the teacher liked him, but their choice might not be the highest scorer on commercial tests

As a result of my performance on the standardized grammar test, I was selected to represent our school in the state competition That year I won first prize for the entire state in the grammar test, so the other teachers at my school started giving commercial tests, too The next year I made the highest scores on these other qualifying tests, also, so I represented our school at the state competition and won at least one first prize and a second prize One year I won first prize in American history and second prize in geometry In the geometry competition we did not have any pencils The high school principal had forgotten to bring them for us So I could not start at the beginning of the hour I had to wait until I could get a pencil In fact, I borrowed one from another contestant when he got through, and I still won second prize

My last year in high school, I won three first prizes and one second prize in the state competition That made me a great hero in the school during my final semester Doing well in those competitions changed

the pattern of my whole life Without the tests and the contests I probably would not have gone to college even if I had made the grades But after I won all those prizes, my teachers, my mother, everybody pushed me to go to college

If I had continued at San Diego, where there were no tests or contests, I would probably have dropped out in the tenth grade, or at best, I might have learned something about making cabinets Success in school often has little to do with ability

I did well in college but was poorly prepared for graduate work I went to a small Negro college and I never had a sociology teacher I had a theologian, a social worker, and a historian who read ahead of us in the textbook It was all right there because it wasn't regarded as "in" to study much When I took the graduate record examination in sociology, I did very poorly because I had never been taught all that material Years later when I took the Ph D comprehensive exam I made the highest score In fact, only two out of the twelve of us passed it That was at the Ph D level, but I would not even have gotten into graduate school if the University of Chicago had required that I submit the results of the graduate record examination

Some of the smartest black students never get through school I was fairly passive and quiet, if I had not been I probably would have been making trouble in school, so I wouldn't even have gotten A's in citizenship If I had been dissatisfied and aggressive I would have gotten into conflicts with the teacher, as a lot of black youngsters do

There are a lot of smart students who do not finish school As early as third grade they may get off on the wrong track and then they miss the important fundamentals If you get turned off in elementary or junior high you miss those important years when you're learning basic grammar, fractions, and so forth For instance, in trigonometry I was good at answering the reading problems, but some other students might have to finish the problem for me, after I had figured out how to work it, because I wasn't able to carry out the simple arithmetic, like canceling fractions, which I had missed back in the earlier grades In fact, when I was ready to take statistics at the Ph D level, I had to go back and teach myself high school mathematics It was not the college level work that was giving me trouble — it was the junior high school subject matter I had missed that was giving me trouble This, I think, is a very widespread situation

I started doing well at the University of Chicago not because I studied more but because I realized that white people were not as brilliant as I thought they were, and I was not as dumb as I thought I was What tipped me off to this? I was working part time in the Population Center

and got to know the people there I was about the only black who stayed around the sociology department consistently, most of them would be there one year and were gone the next Therefore, I was chosen by the whites to be on committees and other things, just to integrate them

So I talked to whites a lot, especially during coffee breaks They did not know anything about my topics and I didn't know anything about theirs We also talked about issues such as "value free" science and the idea that science should not take a stand because it would not be objective This perspective was very widespread but even as a graduate student I was advocating the opposite point of view to my fellow graduate students They would not agree, 'No,' they said, "science is objective" Yet I continued to believe that science is not objective and does not have to be My position at that time was intuitive Today the notion that science need not be value free is pretty widespread Anyway, talking to the other students made me begin to re evaluate our abilities

I was the best worker on the adding machine at the Population Center and was assigned to teach the others how to run it, and then I would have to tell them a lot of other things because I had been there for two or three years and they were just arriving So in general I came to feel that I was as smart as whites, and after that my performance went up tremendously, although I did not study any more than I had before— maybe even less

I had begun reading about blacks, and developed an insatiable interest in the subject Deprived of the opportunity to read about blacks during my elementary, secondary, and undergraduate years, I became so fascinated when I finally 'discovered' black literature that my graduate work was jeopardized, my reading about black things began to interfere with my reading about sociological theory In those days they didn't have Black Studies I had wanted to specialize in race relations, but they said a black should not specialize in race relations because he could not be objective, too many blacks are studying the Negroes and should study something else So I settled for collective behavior, which I don't mind too much because it gives you a point of view to apply to the black situation But it was threatening my other courses because I was finding it intolerable to have to neglect black things in order to study other areas I read all the things I could find in Chicago about blacks in the University library, the Chicago Public Library, its branches—and I even went over to Northwestern to get books out

The total whiteness of the reading material was a dilemma for me, which emphasizes the importance of Black Studies Before discussing that, I should note briefly several factors that helped me and that might help other pupils, too

Small classes and a small school gave me and my teachers a chance to recognize my potentialities and a chance to develop them

Tests and contests offered me an opportunity to demonstrate what I could do These must be used with discretion, however, since they can also contribute to labeling children as "incompetent," "below normal," and so on

Flexibility is also important There should be alternate procedures for people who would otherwise be barred from a program because they do not qualify for it according to the regular criteria Of course, not everyone will automatically succeed, but a second chance can be offered to those who might be unjustly eliminated by rigid adherence to conventional standards

Adequate instruction in the fundamentals of literacy and mathematics is crucial for the lower class, minority child Instruction in these subjects, though requiring effort on the student's part, need not be as dull as many educators make it

Finally, minority pupils need self confidence, a feeling of their own worth Some of this awareness may come through the educational procedures just mentioned In addition, minority students need specific study of their own ethnic situation

Black Studies

Conversations with academicians across the country on the education of black Americans suggest that even many of those persons who have accepted the basic idea of black studies do not fully understand the need They see the goal as the mere blackening of white courses, in varying number and degree The content changes but the ideology and methodology remain the same They omit in their programs the key component of functional community involvement and collective stimulation Thus their programs are individualistic (aimed at "rehabilitating individual students and potential students by means of pride in culture, racial contributions generally, and regenerated dignity and self esteem), they fail to see that the springboard for all of this is an animated communalism aimed at a black educational renaissance Many well intended efforts to rectify the situation accordingly are doomed to inevitable failure²⁷

These words were written in the winter of 1968, only a few months before the campus unrest that rocked the United States in the ensuing fall and school year But the comments still ring true What is wrong with Black Studies today and what must be done to rectify the situation?

To begin with, we must understand more about the black college (and high school) student In the context of a general black awakening, the black students' awareness of exclusion grows increasingly keen, and they long for academic and sociopolitical visibility Accordingly, while the

perfunctory nature (and general obsolescence) of the educational system plagues white students as well, the black student suffers a duality of frustration. Black students must cope with whatever problems white students encounter, plus personal and social rejection as blacks. The educational system is now structured so that a pupil succeeds best by conforming most to white middle class values. Because black students have had less training and experience with these values, they are at a disadvantage. They naturally grow alienated, and their sense of defeat and despair is reinforced and magnified by all the examples of oppressed failure surrounding them in the black community.

Thus in the embryonic stage, at least, Black Studies has two main functions. On the one hand there is the therapeutic function, to help build ethnic confidence, a sense of collective destiny that will serve as a springboard toward acquiring a new future not only for the black race, but, indirectly, for the human race as a whole. Principally, courses in black history and black culture will help counteract the racism of white students, and aid black students to acquire a new self-image.

The second function involves relevance. To be most effective, this instruction — or any other, for that matter — must be tied to daily life. It must give students a sense of involvement, integrating them into the community and, indirectly, into society and the world at large. The development of community consciousness and of black consciousness would commit students to helping to build the black community, when their studies are complete, in contrast to the currently induced frenzy to escape from the black community.

Presented below is a Black Studies curriculum designed by Nathan Hare and adopted by San Francisco State College. To receive a bachelor's degree in Black Studies, a student would be required to take the six core courses, to choose electives (24 units) in his area of concentration within the Black Studies program, and nine electives from other departments, on the advice of the Black Studies department. The rest of his units would consist of general electives.

CORE COURSES

101 BLACK HISTORY (3 units) African cultures from the Iron Age to the present, European colonization and contemporary nationalism, black cultural and scientific contributions, African and American Political, economic, and social aspects of slavery and the contemporary black movement.

102 BLACK MATH (3) Presentation of mathematics as a way of thinking, a means of communication, and an instrument of problem solving, with special reference to the black community, using references from

black experiences where possible for illustrative and reading-problem material Deductive, inductive, and heuristic methods of mathematics are developed and used with special attention to application to the black community's needs

103 BLACK PSYCHOLOGY (3) Introduction to the basic concepts of psychology with emphasis on their application to the life problems of black Americans The scientific study of black behavior

104 BLACK SCIENCE (3) Introduction to scientific development stressing the contributions of black scientists Emphasis on the application of fundamental concepts and methods of science to the environment of black Americans

105 BLACK PHILOSOPHY The foundations of black philosophies as related to theories of knowledge and thought considered within the social and political context

106 BLACK ARTS AND HUMANITIES (3) Introduction to, and exploration of, primary works by black artists and writers with special attention to values expressed in their works and values held by black students Formation and development of black culture ²⁸

The Black Arts concentration includes such courses as Literature of Blackness, The Painting of Blackness, Black Journalism, and Black Oratory The Behavioral and Social Sciences concentration offers, among others, classes in Sociology of Blackness, Economics of the Black Community, Demography of Blackness, and Black Statistics Survey and Method ²⁹

Opponents of Black Studies often claim that it provides a "cop out" for black students, luring them away from technical and scientific fields Furthermore, they claim that there will be no jobs to be had in Black Studies upon graduation The contrary is the case A proper Black Studies program could introduce black students into courses, via semantics and cultural associations, to which they previously could not relate The Black Studies majors would be students who will become teachers of Black Studies, or, say, probation officers, case workers, poverty workers, and the like Black Studies majors, like any other liberal arts majors, could go on to graduate or professional school to prepare for careers as lawyers, social workers, teachers, scholars, professors, research scientists, businesspeople, administrators, salespeople, and physicians They would, other things being equal, quickly emerge and predominate in the upper echelons of the black community as well as competing favorably in society at large, for they will have a more humanistic education

Much of the difficulty in establishing an adequate Black Studies pro-

gram is that the white-controlled society apparently does not want blacks to enter scientific and technical fields in significant droves. Instead, they want to perpetuate cheap labor, but they have the audacity to turn around and say that Black Studies keeps black students away from fields which they have already been kept away from. Opponents fight hardest against black science or black mathematics because they know that these courses would enable the black student to get over the hurdle of mental blocks accruing from generations of exclusion. Opponents of effective Black Studies want to confine our curriculum to art, culture, and history so that we will remain ineffective in a technological society. The black race woefully needs concrete skills, in a technological society, both for individual mobility as well as community development.

Hence, the trouble with Black Studies as it now exists is that the field has been distorted and corrupted by its adversaries and their imitators into the study of blackness alone. Thus Black Studies have evolved, up to now, into three basic types.

First is what we may call "Negro studies." This is by far the most prevalent. It is restricted to recounting our historical travails and ferreting out black contributions to an oppressive "civilization." This may allow blacks to rediscover their identity as a people and increase their self-respect, but otherwise their intellectual life remains largely a bourgeois abstraction, their education separated from our daily life.

Black Studies was never intended to be merely a means of learning about our past. It was a pedagogical innovation, not meant to be restricted to the study alone, with the same old methodology, of the history and culture of black people. It should be a new approach to scholarship and teaching which would prepare black students to function in the hard times ahead, while clearing the way for the ultimate humanization of a decadent American society. Unless Black Studies is dedicated to those tasks it will be useless if not detrimental.

Black Studies must include race analysis, class analysis, and the study of the oppressor as well as his black victims. There must be study of the march toward freedom of other peoples in other eras and other lands—why they succeeded, their failures, and analysis of their goals and their tactics. Beyond this, every Black Studies program should examine the use and methods of publishing and propaganda, just as it should include technical skills (mathematics, engineering, medicine) taught from a black perspective in, of, and by the black community.

A second type of program to avoid is a detrimental variety of pseudo-Black Studies that is being foisted on black students. It consists of Negro professors trotting out their old courses in Negro history, Negro literature, painting, music, and the like, although these courses are now called

"black," their ideology and methodology remain unchanged There should be more to Black Studies than a person with a black skin lecturing to students on "the Negro "

A third kind of undesirable program is often found on white campuses in small towns where few of the students and none of the faculty are black There, white professors may dust off old courses in race relations, primitive art, ancient history, race and minorities in America, social problems, criminology, and urban problems (any kind of problem) and subtitle them 'black" or "Afro American" this or that Unfortunately, the courses continue to be taught from a white liberal moderate perspective

These types of studies are undesirable because they not only fail to mold the proper identity but they also sidetrack the black student in his preparation for the struggle against oppression and for saving and building a black nation It is better to have no Black Studies at all than a program which is false and in the long run damaging

Even many well meaning black advocates of black education begin with basically accurate notions of Black Studies but do not go far enough, being satisfied to call for relevance to the black experience These are valid expressions, but they can have more than one meaning The black experience can be taught exclusively from an atavistic perspective which, though black enough, looks to the past instead of the future Black Studies cannot be relevant to the needs of the black community without a perspective that is geared to the political and social changes necessary for liberating and developing the black community

This perspective cannot be gained from poetry and history and music alone It is not enough to read black history, listen to jazz music, or write pretty poetry, author weighty books or revolutionary songs Instead, in the words of Frantz Fanon, we "must fashion the revolution with the people And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves "³⁰

Those who retort that math, science, and technology can be acquired outside the Black Studies curriculum forget the basis for the Black Studies movement in the first place to permit black students to overcome the handicaps of racism and generations of exclusion from the educational process In this sense, Black Studies is pedagogical and motivational

Black students—any students—learn best in an atmosphere of familiarity Learning new things is at best a tenuous situation for the psyche of students and often a frightening experience They are letting go momentarily of what they are secure in and grabbing onto something new, something of which they have, perhaps, very little understanding In the case of black students, this is compounded by an alien education dominated by alien white referents But, if education was presented in

terms more familiar to them, they would be able to overcome many of the sociopsychological barriers which now obstruct their academic endeavors. This would be the aim of a good Black Studies program to offer black students an introduction to formal education, couched in a way that makes sense to them. Once this objective is accomplished, black students, particularly in technological and scientific fields, will be able to swim out at last into the stormy sea of American scholarship and, in turn, relate it to the black struggle.

In the final analysis, then, there are two basic approaches or instruments for making a course black. One is the historical approach, in which the contributions of blacks and other nonwhites are interwoven with discussions of the rest of the course content. For instance, the Phoenicians invented geometry, algebra derives even etymologically from the Arabic, Africans invented iron, the first person to experiment on the human heart was black, and so on. This kind of information would tend to give black students a sense of involvement and identity with the field they are studying.

The other instrument for making a course black—and perhaps the most important—is the test of relevance. One of the more obvious elements of relevance involves content. Thus, instead of discussing stocks and bonds and promissory notes in elementary school mathematics, it might be preferable to say "if you loot one store and burn two, how many do you have left?" Or, "If you fall behind in your house rent three months and borrow enough to pay a month's rent, how many rent payments do you still owe?"

However, this method involves merely infusing black referents and content into the methodology of the course. But, we must repeat, the essential character of a course in black math and science, as well as in history and/or culture, revolves around its ideology, its perspective, and its methodology, from which its content is more or less derived. Any course or system of education has the function, or part of the function, of transmitting skills, loyalty, and deportment appropriate to some institutional or normative order.

Inasmuch as the content of a Black Studies course is derived primarily from the black experience (the black struggle and its needs), it is largely empirical and experimental in nature. Hence, textbooks typically would be disdained in preference for creative syllabi (produced often with student collaboration) and guidelines culled from the laboratory of life.

This curriculum would include directed activities to get students out into the community and allow them to live, rather than merely memorizing, whatever it is they are learning. Classroom activities would be supplemented by fieldwork and apprenticeships in the community where students can experience the phenomena treated in the classroom.

A class in black history and culture might require the establishment of a Black History Club or a Black Culture Club, which would organize the community around its own identity as a by product of the learning process. Panels of students could be obliged to hold discussions on black history and culture before elementary school groups, in church basements, or wherever space was available.

The possibilities are even greater, of course, for such subjects as black economics, black politics, black journalism, and the like, where students additionally should do apprenticeships and fieldwork in connection with classroom discussions. Thus, the student obtains a more relevant education, testing out theories learned in the laboratory of life against experiences and observation in the community. As education is made more relevant to the black community and its needs, the community becomes more relevant to (or involved in) the educational process. In tying education to daily life and its needs, black education will have an impact on education in America as a whole.

Processes and Predictions

In a sense southern schools are more integrated today than northern schools. This situation grows out of the history of segregation. Segregation was legal in the South. In the North, segregation was not legal, and therefore other ways, social and ecological, developed to keep blacks segregated. The South did not need these other methods because segregation was protected by law. Then the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 came along and it had a greater impact in the South than in the North. The South, not having developed the subtle social and political instruments for keeping blacks segregated, was less able than the North to resist the new integration law. In 1970, 51 percent of the Negroes in the northern and western states were attending highly segregated (90 to 100 percent minority) schools, but in the South only 33 percent of the Negroes were in such schools.³¹

Back in 1961 I wrote an article on my home town school in Slick, Oklahoma. It was surprising how fast integration had gone in that small rural community. A black person was queen of the school, chosen by the students in a popular election, the president of the senior class was also black. However, there were no social events, like dances. All of these had been cut out to avoid mixing. But while the youngsters were at school, it was remarkably integrated and working smoothly. The whites in the community stated that they did not like integration but it was the law and they wanted to abide by the law. I ended the article by saying that the South may one day overtake the North.

One reason for this situation is that the South is poorer than the

North and simply cannot afford the expense of supporting two separate school systems. For example, Slick had two schools, two buildings. This was a financial burden. The black school was supported by the county, whereas the white school was supported by the town of Slick. The town was broke, more impoverished than the county. Therefore, when the Supreme Court outlawed segregation, our school was promptly integrated. Otherwise the white students would have had to go twelve miles to another school. Ironically, we had a better school than the whites because they had built our school up when integration was being talked about. They improved our school in an effort to keep us satisfied and to show that they were providing for the Negroes.

But when the Supreme Court decision came and the other school was in financial trouble, they did not integrate the whites into our school, they integrated the blacks into the older white building, because they did not want to say that whites were going to a black school. It was better for the blacks to go to the white school. That way they could keep the principals and the staff and just hire a few black teachers. Even though the black school had a new building, it was not used and was allowed to deteriorate and collapse.

BUSING

Busing is not new. Black children were bused in the past to keep them segregated. I rode a bus. The white school bus came through my neighborhood and passed my door, but I had to wait for the black bus. Sometimes it did not come, occasionally it broke down or got stuck in a ditch. Nevertheless, even if the white bus came by at those times, it still could not pick me up—it was prohibited by law from doing so. Therefore, I had to walk to school sometimes through mud or snow.

Although segregationists' reactions to busing have been strongly negative, sometimes approaching violence, blacks generally are ambivalent about it. Those blacks most outspoken against busing believe that students should attend schools in their own neighborhoods. In addition, blacks who oppose busing generally wish to add the concept of community control of schools in the black community. This view holds that busing disintegrates the child and his community relations, separates school and community development, and offsets the effort to improve the quality of black schools, with their special reference to the needs of the black student and the black community. The Supreme Court decision of 1954, backed by behavioral and social science interpretations then current, held that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal because of unfavorable psychological and social consequences for the segregated child. On the other hand, black community

control advocates denied this charge, claiming that separate schools under the direction of blacks were uniquely qualified to infuse black pride into black children. This approach was kindled by the discouraging delays in school desegregation and by the general loss of faith in the prospects for black assimilation. The result has been the "black power" cry for black self determination.

INTEGRATION THROUGH SEPARATISM

One of the ironies of race relations is that separatism may lead to integration. On the college campus, for example, the cry for Black Studies, with its separatist overtones, has not only brought more students into Black Studies but has also inspired other departments to recruit token blacks, both as teachers and as students. The result is that there has been more integration on college campuses in the past few years, because of the separatist movement, than there was in generations of legal struggles by the NAACP.

There are many examples to illustrate that integration may come about as a result of separatist efforts. I was recently called as a consultant to Baldwin Wallace College in Ohio. There had been a conflict between black students and the administration, and an eight member panel was formed to try to work out some ideas. The black students were complaining about not getting into the campus newspaper, so I suggested that they start their own paper. It worked. In fact, they did not actually start their own newspaper—they merely began to start it, and the white newspaper came to them. I went back there two or three months later and the blacks were all over the white paper. I suggested the same approach to some blacks who wanted to get into a Greek fraternity. My advice was to start their own black fraternity. The administration was reluctant to charter it, but when the issue came to public notice the white fraternities invited several black students to join. So, if you want integration, you sometimes have to push for separation.

This method works because whites fear that blacks may gain power by controlling an independent organization. Individuals acting alone are usually ineffectual, but a well-organized group is perceived as a threat to white control. This is what makes community control of schools such a controversial issue. It is not simply that administrators do not want to relinquish their command of the schools, it is that whites generally are afraid of what blacks would do if they gained control.

In the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, the New York City schools agreed to an experiment. They set up five schools as a separate, black-controlled system. The local residents wanted black studies, black music, black culture, so they fired some white teachers to make room

for black teachers That brought a citywide strike by white teachers, and the experiment ended ³²

The crucial issue in such struggles is, Who is going to run the schools and for what ends? — to serve assimilation, to serve the black consciousness movement, or what? The more that blacks try to get community control, the more the whites will try to integrate them First the blacks get politicians elected Then they say, "We're in a majority in the central cities and therefore we are going to try to control these cities" Immediately the establishment comes up with the idea of regionalism the level of government will be moved up from the city to the region -- and whites will still be in the majority and still in control

This strategy leads black militants to suspect the establishment of trying to avoid confronting the real problems, and trying to destroy any solidarity the blacks may have achieved The closing of Negro colleges in the South is interpreted in this light As soon as a school shows signs of student initiative or rebellion, it is consolidated into a white school This was the case with Florida A and M and Florida State University, and with Arkansas A and M, which has gone into Arkansas State University, and is currently an issue at my alma mater — Langston University

It is ironical that, in the first part of this century, whites used segregation to hold down the black race, while in the second half they used integration — at least, token integration — to hold blacks down

Separatism and integration are not ends in themselves — they are only means to an end, that end being elevation Sometimes separatism may be used, sometimes integration, but the goal is the empowerment of the people

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Racial problems, even in large cities, can be worked out over time Through conflict we will reach a new harmony It is a dialectical process, as the Marxists would call it Out of the struggle between competing, contradictory elements can come a new harmony, a synthesis of the old and the new Indeed, the only way to achieve a true and lasting harmony is to bring the sources of disharmony to the surface, contend with them there, and resolve the underlying problem Perpetuating a false, superficial harmony only postpones the resolution of the problem, but probing beneath the surface and confronting the disharmony usually produces a result distinct from either of the original contending forces

Busing and community control are two examples of issues which will arise from time to time, yet from the conflicts between various points of view will eventually evolve a synthesis that will be satisfactory to a majority of the people

Black education will change Blacks in America do not exist in a vacuum They are products, in large part, of American society and are affected by its trends and directions Thus, as white attitudes about education change, so will black education

The pace of change may seem slow to people like myself, but it is evident that a great shift already has occurred in the attitudes of whites toward blacks and also in the attitudes of blacks toward themselves Only ten years ago I could not have eaten in a restaurant in Atlanta, Georgia, even if I had been wearing a soldier suit Change occurs in a cumulative way, and there will probably be even more changes in the years ahead

Teachers' attitudes are already shifting Teachers are very conservative, as a whole, and also rather naive politically They are middle-American type people, black teachers as well as whites Yet some teachers have become interested in black things, even at the kindergarten level Textbooks are including blacks, though cautiously

The black movement is far larger than it was a few years ago If something becomes fashionable, then teachers' attitudes may be changed more Now some teachers wear Afro hairdos, whereas in the old days, even if they wanted to, the principal would not have allowed it Some teachers today are militants, which was not the case six or seven years ago

I have met militants teaching in public schools all over the country They are not the leaders of the movement—not the visible, symbolic leaders, and they are not so activist as to cause pressure to be brought against the school But still, they are rank and file members of various organizations and they identify with the black movement This is a new development within the past five years, and it will increase

Horace Mann Bond said that education has never led, it has always served as a means of preparing people to fit into the system The function of education is to prepare people to fit into society in a socially acceptable way We cannot expect the school system to revolutionize society when the economic and political systems are as they are They control the educational system, and not the other way around The college president does not rule the college, it is the trustees, the governor's office, and the big economic interests who control it We found this out clearly in the late 1960s when some students would kidnap a dean and present him with nonnegotiable demands There was no way possible that the dean could grant these demands, even if he wanted to He would have to settle it with his superiors—the president and the powerful people off campus

Looking to the future, we can expect reforms and perhaps movement toward a resolution of these problems, but we cannot expect a total

remedy of the situation in education until society in general has been revised. Nevertheless, we have to keep fighting on every front. We must try to make changes in the educational system, too. Although the school alone cannot transform society, it is one of the main opinion makers, and helps to shape peoples' attitudes. To that extent, education could have an impact on what people are thinking, what they will tolerate, and perhaps what our future leaders will think.

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Suggestions for Further Reading

- "Black Studies," special issue of *The Black Scholar*, II, September 1970
 Of particular interest are the publisher's roundup of the then decaying black studies movement, a definitive article on mathematics and black liberation by a black professor, and a survey of black consciousness among students toward a test of black consciousness
- Black World* (Negro Digest) March 1968, March 1969, March 1970 Three special issues on blacks in the university setting
- Hurst, Charles G *Passport to Freedom* Hamden, Connecticut Linnet Books, 1972 Essays and proposals for black education revolving around the author's plan for the Malcolm X College in Chicago
- Kohl, Herbert. 36 *Children* New York New American Library, 1967. A personal account of one teacher's experiences in an East Harlem school
- Ladner, Joyce, (ed) *The Death of White Sociology* New York Random House, 1973 Although primarily interested in the social sciences, its articles by leading black thinkers comment on what's wrong with western scholarship in general.
- McEvoy, James, and Abraham Miller *Black Power and Student Rebellion* Belmont, California, Wadsworth, 1969 Essays aimed at helping students and teachers move beyond labels and polemics. Written by students and teachers Specific struggles for educational change during the late 1960s
- Marcus, Sheldon, and Philip D Vairo, (eds). *Urban Education Crisis or*

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INDIAN EDUCATION

CLARA SUE KIDWELL DAVID W. SWIFT

Introduction

American Indians are a people of great diversity. In North America, before the arrival of European explorers and adventurers, several hundred major groups and approximately two hundred languages existed.¹ The population has been estimated at anywhere from one to ten million people.² By 1890, the ravages of disease and conquest had reduced the number of Indians in the United States to about 250,000.³ Now the population has risen to approximately 800,000.⁴

American Indians still exhibit a diversity of life styles and cultures. This diversity is a product not only of the large number of tribes that existed in the past but also of present day living conditions. Some In-

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dians are acculturated individuals who live in white, middle class communities and identify themselves as Indian by heritage rather than by language or culture. Other Indians are very traditional reservation people who continue to follow the old ways of life and still speak native languages. About half of the Indians in the United States live on reservations in tribally oriented communities, while the rest live off the reservation, in situations ranging from small, predominantly Indian, rural communities to enclaves in large cities such as San Francisco, Minneapolis, and Chicago.⁵

The majority of Indian children attend public schools. Of the 267,000 pupils attending elementary or secondary schools in 1970, 197,000 were in public schools,⁶ 51,000 were in schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and 18,000 were enrolled in mission or other private schools.⁷ In addition to these elementary and secondary pupils, about 30,000 Indians were enrolled in some form of higher education.⁸ However, the academic achievement of Indian pupils is lower than the average of the white majority, and many Indian adolescents drop out before completing high school.⁹

The problems of Indian education can be understood best in terms of cultural differences. The label *culturally deprived* generally implies that a child has no culture. The fact is that his culture is simply different from the culture of the dominant society. Cultural differences underlie many of the difficulties of educating Indian children today, and are the main consideration of this chapter.

The following section summarizes the history of Indian education in the United States. Other sections will deal with elementary and secondary education and higher education. The concluding section discusses the importance of respect for Indian culture, both for native Americans and for the larger society.

History

In Indian communities education of the young was informal rather than formal. Children learned by imitating their elders in play and by being taught skills appropriate to their roles in adult life. The elders instilled values and attitudes through folk tales and instructional dialogues conducted in the evening. Education was essential to the survival of the community because it instructed the individual in his role in society.¹⁰

Formal education was introduced to the American Indian by missionaries, who equated education, Christianity, and the virtues of civilized European life. The missionaries viewed education as a means of training Indians who could communicate and negotiate with the Europeans. For

mal education for the white colonists was largely a matter of training ministers, and it was hoped that Indians could be educated to become missionaries to their own people

By the 1650s an Indian college was founded at Harvard to instruct Indian youth in the same classically oriented curriculum that their white contemporaries were studying. Of the first eight Indian students at Harvard five died and three returned home, but later students learned to translate Greek and Latin. Dartmouth College grew out of an academy established in New Hampshire by the Reverend Eleazor Wheelock for the education of Indians. The college did not, however, remain an exclusively Indian institution but soon began to attract the sons of colonists as well.

Indian people regarded the value of formal, classical education as highly questionable. One leader commented:

Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the Northern Provinces, they were instructed in all your Sciences, but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a Deer, or kill an Enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing.¹¹

After thanking the whites for offering education, the Indians proposed to give white youth a more adequate education.

If the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.¹²

The response of other groups to the white man's education was more favorable. Among the Cherokee and the Choctaw in the southeastern part of the country, tribal leaders encouraged the educational work of missionaries. In the 1820s the Choctaw voted money from their treasury that had been gained from a treaty by which tribal lands were ceded to the whites, to support the building and maintenance of missionary schools. By accommodating to the white man's ways, the Cherokee and Choctaw hoped to establish themselves as civilized equals with their white neighbors and thus be accepted rather than be forced from their lands. The Cherokee also devised a constitution, adopted a written language created by Sequoyah, and published a newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. But they were still forced to move from their homelands in Georgia to the territory of what is now Oklahoma, west of the Mississippi River. There they re-established their school systems, achieved higher rates of literacy in English and Cherokee than white settlers had in

English alone, and maintained the best school system west of the Mississippi, until their nations were dissolved by federal government action in 1906.

Education was a mixed blessing, even though the Indians tried to use it to improve their situation, it sometimes backfired against them. For example, it was the educated, mixed bloods in the Choctaw tribe who negotiated the treaty which gave up their land and provided for their removal. There was a deep split in the tribe between the full bloods and the mixed bloods. The white man dealt with the mixed bloods because they were more like himself—they were better educated, could speak English, and could read and write. In a sense, they sold out their own people.

These treaties, of which 389 were signed with various tribes between 1778 and 1871, paved the way for federal responsibility over Indian education. In return for the land the Indians relinquished, they were generally given money payments, guarantees of the integrity of the land they retained, and educational services. The government's first educational provisions were made in a treaty with the Senecas in 1792, and later agreements also provided such things as school buildings and teachers of agriculture. Treaties are still the legal basis for federal schools for Indian children and for government support of private schools and public schools attended by Indians.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, missionaries were the major source of Indian education, providing instruction in morals as well as in reading, writing, and the practical arts of farming and housewifery. The boarding school situation was considered desirable since it removed Indian children from their own culture, enabling missionaries to teach them the values of Christianity more easily. When children rebelled against the harsh discipline and parents refused to send their children to school because of the physical punishment, the missionaries prevailed on the Cherokee tribal council to enact a law requiring all parents to return their children to school after vacations or pay all the expenses that had been incurred in their education.

The first nonmission school to be supported by the government was not established until 1860. Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, the government supported both mission and secular schools.

The first major boarding school to be located off a reservation was Carlisle Barracks, established in 1879 in an unused army installation in Pennsylvania. The founder of the school, Richard Pratt, was an army captain who had worked among the Cheyenne after they had been driven from their homeland on the northern plains and were imprisoned, first in Oklahoma and then in Florida, because they had tried to escape.

Their plight affected Pratt deeply, and he decided that the only way to save Indian people from complete extinction was to educate them to take up the white man's way of life and live in white society.

Paradoxically, this justification for education stressed the survival of the individual at the expense of tribal cultures. Yet Carlisle was also a catalyst for a Pan Indian movement during the late 1800s and early 1900s. It brought together Indians of many tribes and contributed to the formation of an educated Indian elite who would be the initiators of change in Indian society.

A key part of Pratt's educational system at Carlisle was the "outing system," by which students were sent during summer sessions to live and work with white families. This device was intended to expose them to the "benefits" of the white way of life and to teach them how to live in white society. During the early days of the system it did perhaps aid the students, but in later years abuses crept into the system, and students were sent out to work for families more or less as servants.

A strong emphasis on manual labor for Indian students has been a part of formal Indian education since its beginning and it continues up to the present in most government off reservation boarding schools. In 1884 the Bureau of Indian Affairs established four major off reservation boarding schools: Haskell Institute in Kansas, Chilocco Institute in Oklahoma, Stewart Institute in Nevada, and Riverside Institute in California. These were vocational training institutions, and they continue to serve Indian people throughout the United States, offering programs at the high school, post-high school, and, in the case of Haskell, junior college level.

By the first part of the twentieth century the appalling living conditions of Indian people began to attract the attention of reformers. The Society of American Indians was founded in 1911 by a group of educated Indians who hoped to show that Indian people were capable of academic education and achievement in white society. Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux who had spent the first fifteen years of his life among his people before going to Dartmouth College, was one of the most widely known members of the Society. The emphasis of the Society, however, was not on the preservation of Indian culture but rather upon the necessity for young people to become acculturated into the white man's way of life, reservations should be maintained only until those who could not acculturate had died. White reform organizations, such as the American Indian Defense Association founded in 1923, also accepted the idea that the Indian must give up his separate existence and become part of the dominant white society.

In response to the activities of these reform organizations, the Bureau

of Indian Affairs in 1926 commissioned a major study of Indians in the United States. The report, prepared under the supervision of Louis Merriam and usually called the Merriam Report, appeared in 1928. It documented the intolerable conditions of Indian life— inadequate housing, rampant disease (especially tuberculosis), inadequate health care, unemployment, and poverty. It pointed out that much of the poverty was due to the Indians' loss of land, which had resulted from the General Allotment Act in 1887. By the terms of this act, Indians were given tribal land on an individual-ownership basis, and the surplus land, remaining after this distribution, reverted to the federal government for sale to the public. Many Indian people, unfamiliar with concepts of private property and ownership, had sold their land for cash or had been defrauded out of it by land speculators.

The Merriam report was particularly critical of the BIA's educational program, exposing such conditions as overcrowded dormitories, inadequate diet, and physical punishment inflicted on children. The report denounced the reservation system for the isolation that it imposed on Indian people, and it concluded that the best way to improve living standards would be to educate Indians so that they could be assimilated into white society. Again, it was believed that Indians could survive only if their culture was destroyed and the white culture was imposed upon them.

The Merriam report marked the beginning of a shift in Bureau policy. After 1928 the Bureau's appropriations for education increased dramatically, and some attempt was made to deal with conditions in government schools. Soon a major portion of the Bureau's budget was allocated to education, designed to assimilate the Indian into the mainstream of society.

Another policy shift came in 1934 with the Johnson O'Malley Act. This was part of legislation known as the *Indian New Deal*. Under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, the New Deal was an attempt to correct the conditions detailed by the Merriam Report. The sale of allotted Indian land was halted and the remaining surplus land was returned to the tribes. The suppression of Indian religions was forbidden. Indian arts and crafts were encouraged as a means of developing economic opportunities on reservations. Tribal councils were to be organized and would be given legal status, so that tribes could be dealt with as officially recognized bodies. The BIA was given the right to contract with states for educational services for Indian children. The boarding school system was to be ended. Again, exposure to white society was considered an essential part of the educational process for Indian children.

The Johnson O'Malley Act was an attempt to move away from the strictly Indian school by paying public school systems to educate Indian children. Johnson O'Malley funds were not intended to take the place of public school money but rather to supplement it in ways that would provide for the special needs of Indian pupils, such as remedial programs, hot lunches, transportation to and from school, and special expenses that Indian parents were often unable to pay out of their own pockets. The Act set policy that has guided Indian education ever since, though not all of its objectives have been achieved. For example, boarding schools were supposed to be closed down, but some Indian children live too far from public schools, and therefore several off-reservation boarding schools still operate.

Elementary and Secondary Education

This section of the chapter, discussing elementary and secondary education, consists of two parts. The first describes the structure of Indian education today. The second part examines cultural factors that present problems in educating Indian students in white oriented school systems.

THE STRUCTURE OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Three different sources provide elementary and secondary education for native Americans: the United States government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, local public school systems, and private sponsors, religious and secular. The kind of schools that Indian children attend depends to a large extent upon the living conditions of the children's families or guardians. Indian people today live in one of three situations:

Some reside on reservations where they may be quite remote from the dominant society. This remoteness is especially true for tribes such as the Papago in Arizona, the Tlingit in Alaska, and the Navajo predominantly in Arizona. In such areas, reservation day schools are provided, or children are sent to off-reservation boarding schools such as Chemawa in Oregon or Chilocco in Oklahoma. In some isolated areas religious groups maintain schools.

A second major living situation is that of people in small, rural communities, perhaps on or near a reservation or perhaps at some distance from it. People in these communities generally participate in a money economy and may move fairly easily between the Indian group and neighboring non-Indian communities. In some of these communities English is the major language, whereas in others a native language may be spoken more often. The Quinault in Washington state, the Menom-

mee in Wisconsin, and the Ojibwe in Minnesota are examples of situations where English is likely to be the major language. The more isolated Cherokee in Oklahoma and the Crow in Montana are examples of predominantly native language speaking communities. The younger children generally go to an all Indian or mainly Indian public school and later go to integrated secondary schools that serve a larger area and are attended by many non Indians.

As a third situation, about 40 percent of all Indians live in urban areas, either in individual families or in predominantly Indian neighborhoods. These children attend public schools, sometimes in significant numbers in schools serving Indian neighborhoods. In 1970, six cities each reported more than one thousand Indian pupils in their public schools: Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Minneapolis, Albuquerque, Los Angeles, and Chicago.¹³

Federal subsidies support at least in part, the education of 70 percent of Indian pupils attending public schools. Since tribal land on reservations is not subject to taxation, the enrollment of Indian children in public schools on or near reservations presents an added burden to these school districts. The Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934 helps to offset that burden, as do two more recent Acts. Public Law 815 provides supplementary funds for the construction of public schools which serve Indian children, and PL 874 provides impact aid similar to that given to areas where military installations are present.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates 78 boarding schools and 121 day schools.¹⁴ These serve a large portion of American Indians still living on or near reservations. There is no clear cut opinion as to whether or how far the government's financial responsibilities should extend to Indians who do not live on reservations. At any rate, two out of three Indian children of school age are being educated at federal expense, either directly in BIA operated schools, or indirectly in public schools reimbursed by the government.¹⁵

The Bureau operates two kinds of schools: boarding schools both on and off reservations, and day schools on reservations. Not every Indian child is compelled to go to a government school, indeed, not every child is eligible to go to such a school. Boarding schools are intended to serve students who live so far from a public school that transportation is impractical, or whose home environment is judged so bad that they would benefit from a different environment, or whose emotional or educational problems are so severe that they cannot succeed in a normal public school setting. Day schools serve some areas far distant from public school facilities.

EVALUATIONS

Bureau schools have often been criticized for their failure to provide adequate education for Indian children. For example, the Kennedy subcommittee report in 1968 expressed much dissatisfaction with BIA education, and supported its criticism by citing lower achievement rates for Indian children than for non-Indian children.¹⁶ However, other factors have been mentioned to counter the criticisms. It must be borne in mind that the very policies that determine admission to BIA boarding schools bring into being a student population that may be handicapped by emotional, educational, or environmental problems before they reach school. In addition, the school itself is affected by financial and personnel problems. Bureau schools on reservations are often located in extremely isolated areas, and teacher turnover is very high because of the limited opportunities for contact with the dominant society.¹⁷

Although per pupil expenditure by the Bureau is higher than in public school districts, much of this money is spent on supportive services such as travel money for students to and from schools and dormitory attendants in boarding schools. However, a study in 1970 showed that boarding schools were painfully understaffed in the areas of psychological and counseling services.¹⁸ These very services are the ones that should be most abundantly provided because of the problems that students in the schools bring with them. The Kennedy subcommittee found that only 1 percent of Indian children throughout the nation are taught by Indian teachers.¹⁹ Generally, teachers in Bureau schools are non Indian. These teachers usually come into the Bureau ignorant of the culture of the children with whom they will be working. This lack of understanding often creates a barrier between the teacher and the people of the community, a barrier that may lead to distrust on the part of the students and parents and to frustration on the part of the teacher over his or her inability to communicate with them.

Although the failures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have drawn many complaints from Indian people, other aspects of the educational system have also been criticized. Most schools, BIA and public, offer a traditional curriculum with little or no emphasis on Indian culture. It is not surprising, therefore, that Havighurst and Fuchs found that Indian students generally are not enthusiastic about their schooling. They do not exert themselves, nor do they feel that it is important to do well in school. The notion of formal education does not occupy as large a place in the life of an Indian student as it does for his white counterpart.²⁰

On the other hand, most Indian students are not overtly hostile to

school, in general they speak favorably about it and their teachers, although some make specific complaints.²¹ The mildness of student criticisms, for the most part, may be attributable to the fact that Indians lack adequate standards for evaluating their schools and teachers. Indian students do not know much about other schools or about alternatives to the kinds of teachers and curricula that they have in their own schools, especially in isolated areas. There might be more criticism if Indian people had a wider experience with other school systems. Consequently, while Indian parents may generally express approval of the schools, this approval does not necessarily mean that the schools really are satisfactory. It means only that the parents are not aware of alternatives to the present forms of education. The most positive evaluation of school generally comes from the more isolated, all Indian schools.²² In contrast, the most negative criticism comes from Indians who have had the greatest interaction with white, urban communities and have lived in places where Indian students are a minority in the total school population.²³

INDIAN CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

Indian people in recent years have been attempting to take more responsibility for educating their own children. The idea of self determination is an increasingly important factor in contemporary Indian societies. For a long time the Bureau of Indian Affairs has controlled most aspects of Indian life, from the administration of trust land to education. Now, however, there are signs of change. In 1970 President Nixon issued a statement stressing the government's commitment to allowing Indian people to assume the administration of their own affairs, the BIA would be a service and advisory agency rather than a management one.²⁴

This self determination is most evident in the field of education. Under the Johnson O'Malley Act, money is available for private and public schools which enroll Indian children. Indian groups are organizing to apply for these funds, and to provide educational programs for their children. More recent legislation affecting Indian education and government policy is embodied in Title IV of S 659, passed in June 1972. Known as the Indian Education Act, it provides for assistance to Indian education by adding various Indian titles to the Elementary and Secondary Act. It establishes an Office of Indian Education within the U.S. Office of Education, and it also sets up a National Advisory Council on Indian Education to guide governmental policies.

Three examples illustrate the recent activity of Indian people in establishing and controlling schools that serve their children. Rough Rock is a community of one thousand on the Navajo reservation, sixteen miles

from the nearest paved road, eighty miles from the nearest hospital, and one hundred miles from the closest sizable town. Rough Rock Demonstration School was established by the Navajo tribe in 1966 with money from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The school has 250 pupils, from preschool through grade ten. To receive money, the Navajo tribe established a private, nonprofit corporation. The corporation then placed control of the school in the hands of a board of education elected by the community. The board members are Navajos, most of whom have only minimal formal education. The school operates with a bicultural curriculum, and it encourages parents to visit the school and to learn about the educational program. The dormitories are supervised chiefly by residents of local communities.²⁵

Ramah High School, on another part of the huge Navajo reservation, is the first Indian-controlled high school since the Cherokee and Choctaw school systems were closed in the nineteenth century. Ramah was established in 1968 for students who lacked transportation to the public school and who did not want to go far away to a federal boarding school. It had 140 students in 1970 and is funded by the BIA, OEO, and private foundations. Its curriculum parallels that of regular public high schools, with the addition of Navajo culture.²⁶

Pine Point School on the White Earth Chippewa reservation in Minnesota has a governing board composed of Indian parents from the community of Ponsonford. The school has been granted temporary autonomy, removing it from the control of the local public school district. Funding is primarily through Johnson O Malley monies and other federal subsidies. The curriculum is strongly oriented toward Ojibwe culture, with instruction as well in the Ojibwe language.

Although schools for Indian children are still constrained by state requirements in matters of funding, textbooks, and teacher certification, Indian people are demanding and receiving a larger voice in the policies that affect their children. Throughout the nation this trend is making schools more responsive to the cultural values and educational needs of Indian pupils.

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Although Indian children do not perform as well on standard tests as non Indian children, they are certainly no less intelligent. On the contrary, there is much evidence that all children, whether categorized by race, nationality, or socioeconomic status, have, on the average, the same intelligence and ability to learn. For example, Oglala Sioux children on the Pine Ridge Reservation were given a standard test of mental development constructed by the psychologist Jean Piaget, and their

scores were compared with those of a typical group of children in Geneva, Switzerland. The performances of the Sioux children and the Swiss children were practically identical. The researcher concluded that "The inferiorities shown by IQ tests among Indian children are dependent upon the nature of the tests themselves, in particular their cultural content, since these inferiorities are not found when one analyzes the development of more fundamental concepts."²⁷

Consequently, the lower average school achievement of Indian children must be due to factors other than innate ability—to some combination of their experiences in the school, family, and society. Such factors include language, family background, peer pressure, economic level, and cultural differences—all, in a sense, functions of the cultural background from which these children come.

Indian culture is different in many ways from the culture of the white majority. The attitudes of Indian children about work, authority, reward, punishment, competition, cooperation, all are influenced by traditions which developed in a situation very different from that of the Europeans who came to America. To the original differences between Indian and white culture have been added the effects of several centuries of defeat, subjugation, exploitation, and attempts to suppress or completely exterminate Indian culture.

POVERTY The change from traditional subsistence patterns to the demands of a modern, money economy has left most Indian people in a state of poverty, a major factor in the lives of most Indian children. As Havighurst points out:

Extreme poverty may have a serious effect on a minority of Indian children as it apparently does on a minority of poor families everywhere. Uncertainty of income, uncertain employment, lack of contact with the institutions of the larger society, and disorganized family life, all of which are more prevalent among poor families than among other families, produce a life-style which severely handicaps the children of such a family for orderly school attendance and school achievement. These conditions are to be found among some of the poorest Indian families, both on the reservations and in the urban setting.²⁸

Poverty often results in the Indian child's inability to conform to the schools' norms of dress and behavior. Even in a school that is predominantly Indian, the teachers are most often white middle class people who have been trained in the institutions of a white, middle class society, and their expectations are those of their own culture rather than that of their students.

Indians want many of the same things that other people want—a

color television set, a snowmobile, a comfortable house — but they simply do not accept the dominant society's approved method of acquiring these things by hard work, thrift, and the postponement of immediate pleasure for long term goals. Instead, they are oriented toward the present. If money becomes available, Indians will acquire material goods, but their cultural traditions, based as they have been on the satisfaction of immediate needs, do not dictate a pattern of working at a regular job and saving money to acquire goods in the future.

Some Indian people get money without the necessity for work. Claims against the government for past treaty rights, money from the leasing of individual or tribal land, welfare payments for those who cannot find work — all are sources of occasional income, generally in relatively small sums. When an infrequent windfall of this sort comes to an Indian family with minimal or no income, there is no cultural incentive to save for the proverbial rainy day. Rather, such money will most likely be spent on things such as a second or third hand car to provide needed transportation, a snowmobile, a weekend shopping spree in town for clothes, groceries, and toys for the children. The Kennedy subcommittee found in 1968 that the average annual income of Indian families was \$1500, and the unemployment rate for Indians was 40 percent.²⁹ Thus, many Indian people can exist only on a day to day basis, with very little cash income. They are unfamiliar with a money economy, they have never assimilated the Protestant work ethic. Because of their poverty they are denied access to political power, and without political power they are helpless to raise their standard of living to a level at which they might preserve their culture with a modicum of decency and comfort.

LANGUAGE A major source of difficulty for many Indian students is language. Verbal ability is important in the classroom. The child who answers quickly and fluently succeeds, the one who hesitates and mumbles is generally categorized as less intelligent. But in Indian cultures verbal aggressiveness is not encouraged in children. Children speak when spoken to and are not generally engaged in dialogue by adults. They may be trained, as a sign of respect, to avoid looking directly at the person who is speaking to them. Yet this habit can be disconcerting for a teacher who has been taught in education courses about the value of eye contact in establishing rapport with students. And when children do not take part in class discussions or answer questions or converse with the teacher, the teacher may assume that they are less intelligent than their more verbal peers.

Language presents a basic problem for many Indian children who come from homes in which a native language is spoken or the background is bilingual. The Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates that two-thirds of its pupils speak a native language at home.³⁰ Their first exposure to English may come in school, or English may be a rarely-used second language. Yet in school — whether public, Bureau, or mission — the child is expected to study and respond in English. Because of language problems many Indian children start school with a basic disadvantage. They must spend the first year or two learning English before they can learn anything else. This necessity often involves repeating the first grade, in which case children are over age for their grade when they do begin to advance, and they may therefore be teased by their younger classmates. These situations, as Rosalie and Murray Wax have noted, can be extremely frustrating, and may have long lasting consequences.³¹

Language is also a factor in achievement testing, whereby Indian students are often recorded as having lower scores. But, on nonverbal tests such as the Goodenough Draw A-Man test, Indian children have shown significantly higher scores than they do on verbal tests which require reading ability.³²

To remedy these problems, the BIA is encouraging the use of linguistic techniques that will help Indian children gain an earlier command of English. Teachers are being trained in the ESL (English as a Second Language) approach. Its objective is to move Indian children from the use of their native language to the stage in which English can be used as the language of instruction in the school.³³

Another approach advocates bilingual, bicultural instruction. While agreeing that difficulty in school is strongly related to lack of fluency in English, advocates of the bilingual approach claim that the attempt to teach English to children who do not speak it as their native language is, in itself, a large part of the problem. To young Indian children, school may seem strange and disconcerting. In addition, to have a new language imposed upon them can be even more frightening and frustrating. Therefore they should first be taught to read and write in their own language, before any attempt is made to teach them literacy in English. After they become familiar with the processes of reading and writing their native language, these skills can be more easily generalized to English.³⁴

Such a bilingual, bicultural approach is being used in a few schools. At Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation, Navajo is the main language of instruction for younger pupils and is supplemented by a program in Navajo culture and language which continues through all grades. Children begin preschool with four hours of spoken

Navajo and two hours of spoken English. Written Navajo is added in kindergarten, while written English is not begun until the third grade. In grades three to nine the emphasis is reversed, with two hours of spoken and written Navajo and four hours of spoken and written English.³⁵

Though the bilingual, bicultural approach looks promising, a number of practical difficulties hinder its development. Many Indian languages do not have a standard system of spelling. There are not enough relevant teaching materials — primers, dictionaries, readers — in native languages. Teacher training programs at most universities do not give much attention to the special problems involved in teaching minority groups. Where community people with special skills in teaching language have been hired, the accreditation of the school has been threatened. If these noncertified teachers are employed only as aides, then Indian culture and language are given lower status than English. Many teachers and educators have not accepted the concept of bilingualism, holding instead to the melting-pot belief that Indians should be assimilated into the dominant white society, for this process a mastery of English is needed.³⁶

Resistance to the use of native language instruction in schools is met even in some Indian communities, where people believe that what their children need for success in the white man's world is English, not a native language. Their view is understandable in the past, active attempts were made to suppress Indian languages. Former policies of government boarding schools and mission schools stated that the child must be deprived of his language, since it tied him to the culture that the schools were trying to educate out of him. Many Indian parents who today resist the idea of bilingual education for their children may have undergone physical punishment for not speaking English when they were in school. A number of Indian parents have refused to teach their children their native language.

For many Indian young people, however, the situation is changing. There is a conscious attempt to restore Indian languages. The language is being looked on not as a handicap but as a source of identity and pride. As Indians assume control of their schools, native languages are taught as part of the regular curriculum. In Neah Bay, Washington, special summer programs in Makah language and culture have been conducted for Makah children in the public school by some of the older women of the tribe. Colleges and universities, too, are offering courses in native languages, and these attract both Indian and non-Indian students. Sioux was taught at the University of California. At Haskell Indian Junior College, in Kansas, classes in Creek, Kiowa, Hopi, and Cherokee are given by native speakers of those languages. The University of Minne-

sota offers Dakota and Ojibwe, these languages fulfill the University's language requirements

PARENTAL ATTITUDES Children's performance in school can be strongly influenced by parental attitudes. Educational level of the parents, particularly of the mother, is a strong determinant of a student's achievement. Yet formal education does not occupy the same place of importance in the Indian student's life that it does in the lives of many white students. Even well educated Indians do not necessarily believe that education is desirable for their children. Parents who, in their own childhood, were punished for speaking Indian language or who have been disillusioned by their inability to get jobs even though they are educated do not look upon education as the road to opportunity that non Indian parents see for their children.

The attitudes of students at Haskell Indian Junior College, a Bureau school, might be taken as representative of a cross section of Indian attitudes generally. Many students attend Haskell simply because there are few other options open to them. The decision as to whether to continue their education after graduating from high school was left up to them, without strong parental pressures. On the other hand, some parents do want their children to be educated. The Waxes observed that some Indian families "have become convinced that their corporate well being and prestige within the local community depend on getting at least some of their children through high school (and college, if possible) and thus into the better paying tribal and bureau jobs"³⁷. Consequently, some Indian youths do not find it easy to leave school because this formidable body of elders blocks their retreat. In some instances this family pressure "is so strong that it puts outright dullards through college."³⁸

While the force of parental pressure may keep a student in school, it may be difficult for some parents to provide more than the most abstract kind of encouragement and advice. The average educational level of Indian people in reservation areas in 1968 was fifth grade.³⁹ Even though parents may want their children to succeed, their own experience with formal schooling may have been so limited that they cannot fully appreciate the demands of a formal educational system, and therefore they can give only the most general encouragement to their children.

THE GAP BETWEEN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY Indian children may exist in two worlds—the world of the school, in which they are expected to speak English and concentrate on reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the world of the home, where they speak a native language, are ex-

pected to help with chores around the house, work in the fields, and take part in ceremonial activities of the community that may often take them out of school. Their parents may encourage them to learn to read, although there is no reading material available in the home. They want their children to learn English but they speak to them in Ojibwe or Dakota or Navajo, or they may be actively hostile toward the school, viewing it as a place that their children are compelled by the government to attend.

This separation of school from the community is often a physical separation as well. Many reservation schools are some distance from students' homes. Even where the school is near a community, it is likely to be in a compound of school buildings and teachers' homes, especially if it is a Bureau day school or a mission school. The compound is perceived as a formidable place, into which children disappear in the morning and from which they reappear in the evening. Or, the school may be represented only by the bus that comes to pick up children in the morning and return them in the evening.

Parents' feelings of isolation from the school may be paralleled by the teachers' feelings of isolation from the community. The high turnover rate of teachers in remote Bureau schools often means that a teacher may come to the school, teach a year or two, and then leave, without ever really getting to know any of the parents of students. Teachers who do remain at the school may settle into a routine and teach for many years without making any attempt to get involved in the community. Wax, Wax, and Dumont point out that most of the teachers in the elementary grades of the Pine Ridge reservation school are white married women or widows, middle aged or older, raised in the communities of the western plains.⁴⁰ Many of the young, idealistic teachers who enter such a situation are rapidly disillusioned by the rigid bureaucratic structure of government civil service. According to the Kennedy report, 25 percent of teachers of Indian children would rather not teach Indians.⁴¹

COOPERATION AND SHAME One of the most profound differences between Indian and white culture is the orientation toward other people. Indians attach more importance to the group than whites usually do, with the result that Indians value cooperation rather than individual competition. Because the group means more to them, they are more concerned with sharing and with avoiding shame, either for themselves or for others.

Many Indian children are still raised in small reservation communities or in predominantly Indian rural settlements. These places retain many

characteristics of a close-knit tribal society, in which extensive ties of kinship bind people together into large family groups. The typically Indian values of sharing, cooperativeness, mutual support, and hospitality are fostered in this kind of environment. Children are dependent not only upon parents but also upon a number of other adults—grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and more distant relations—all of whom make up the extended family, even though each nuclear family may occupy its own separate dwelling. Children find that all these adults participate in their training and assume responsibility for their well-being. Therefore, they come to view all adults as authority figures and role models.

Their peers, too, are important, so children learn not to push themselves forward to excel at the expense of other members of the group. Calling attention to oneself may lead others to be shamed. Shame is perhaps the most powerful social pressure that can be exerted in such close knit communities. Consequently, children should not do anything that will call attention to themselves to the detriment of others in the group. They are also taught that they must not undertake any task unless they have learned it by observation well enough that they can perform it without fumbling. Unsuccessful attempts at a task are generally ridiculed in Indian communities—again shame is an important tool in training children.

Consequently, when Indian children are thrust into the classroom their attitudes are already strongly shaped toward cooperation, nonaggressive behavior, and a fear of being shamed or teased for failure. But most classroom situations are basically competitive. Children are encouraged to be verbally outgoing giving the right answers or pertinent comments (although impertinent comments will be strongly discouraged). Teachers single out individual children in many ways—to write an arithmetic problem on the board, or to read aloud, or to lead a discussion. Those who excel receive special recognition, are given special tasks, get gold stars by their names, and set the curve on tests. These techniques, of course, are designed to encourage individual achievement, but they merely make Indian children extremely uncomfortable because they expose their attempts to public attention and possibly to public ridicule. If they fail in front of the class they are shamed, yet if they succeed they shame the others.

Sharing, too, may cause trouble. Sharing is an essential part of tribal life styles. If one person gets some money, there is strong pressure to share it with relatives and friends. Exchanging goods, either through informal sharing or through formalized situations such as ceremonial feasting, is a part of Indian life. Sharing extends to mutual encouragement

and moral support so that no one person is left behind. But, when this idea of sharing is carried over into the classroom, it conflicts with the school's emphasis on individual effort. What the Indian child may simply regard as sharing information on a test may be condemned by the teacher as cheating.

Indian students' culture teaches them to be part of a group and to be supportive of other people. The teacher, on the other hand, encourages them to strive to be better than the rest of the group. Whatever they do, someone is going to be displeased.

THE SILENT RESPONSE So Indian pupils are placed in a dilemma. Their culture and their classmates expect them to act in one way while the teacher expects them to act in another. Confronted by these conflicting pressures, Indian pupils usually withdraw into a shell of silence. As Robert Dumont points out:

Student silence characterizes much of what goes on in the formal schooling of American Indian children. It is noticeably present as early as the third grade and is fully and systematically put to use by the seventh and eighth grades.⁴²

Because dialogues, discussions, questions, and answers form such a fundamental process of white education, it is hard for the teacher to understand why a student would deliberately choose not to talk. Yet silence becomes a tool by which students can undermine all of the teacher's attempts to teach, and, by their silence, they effectively control what goes on in the classroom.

Most teachers equate talking with learning, whereas silence is equated with absence of learning. This simplistic approach is indicated by the fact that at orientation sessions for teachers of Indian children, considerable emphasis is placed on getting students to talk, and if they do talk, it is then necessary to get them to 'talk up' (speak louder).⁴³ Dumont's observations point out this use of silence:

When classes began we did not expect the intensity of the constrained and cautious behavior of the students nor the long and sometimes embarrassing periods of silence. Teachers requested, pleaded with, shouted at, commanded, badgered, and cajoled students to talk. When they did their replies could barely be heard or it was a muffled word. Most often their answers were little more than 'yes,' 'no,' or 'I don't know.' Inevitably the days were long periods of desk work, teacher monologues, or lectures and rhetorical questions.⁴⁴

Yet outside the classroom these same children were noisy, bold, daring, and insatiably curious. Once they decided to find something out, talking and language were hardly problems. If they didn't know the right words,

they found someone else who could interpret for them Even very young children would engage the person who couldn't speak their language in language lessons, which they kept going with laughter and joking⁴⁵

Silence does not stem simply from lack of knowledge of English, although this is a part of it Silence has deeper roots than a mere misunderstanding of the particular words used by the teacher Instead, silence is a conspiratorial effort by Indian students to resist the teacher's power over them, a power which, in their view, the teachers misuse in their attempts to impose alien ways upon their pupils Most Indian students would like to succeed in school, but their culturally prescribed paths to success conflict with those of most teachers

Academic ability and skill are important to both teacher and students, but the ways in which they are defined and attained by either are disparate enough so that without choice compromise, and adaptation the behavior of either one becomes an anathema to the other Each persists, at times ruthlessly, in structuring the classroom so that it is wholly within his own cultural world Both sides have a somewhat equal power with an equal number of controls at their command so that neither achieves what he wants⁴⁶

Dumont found a few unusual classrooms in which talking occurred In these rare classes the children were allowed to choose from a set of alternatives, and they were permitted to work together to solve problems without being subject to arbitrary moral judgments by the teacher Teachers in these classes kept in the background, doing little lecturing or structuring of situations, imposing little authority Instead they allowed compromise and experimentation The topic, the method, the procedures were not rigidly defined in advance but were left open so that the students could work out solutions in ways compatible with their cultural backgrounds The entire class worked together as a unit, trying to figure out the meaning of a word or the answer to a problem⁴⁷

A striking contrast was the teacher who stated bluntly, "I am the boss," and ran his classroom in an authoritarian manner⁴⁸ If the class would not talk to him, they must nevertheless listen to him He established strict rules and interpreted adherence to those rules not so much as evidence of learning but as indications of the child's moral character In another instance a teacher required a seventh-grader to write her homework on the board before the whole class, and kept her at the board for some time discussing the work with her, while ignoring the rest of the class The teacher imposed on her and criticized her in front of the other pupils Perhaps even worse, he forced her to go beyond the bounds of Indian propriety in dissociating herself from the rest of the class⁴⁹

The silent response is both a defensive mechanism against the authoritarian teacher and an offensive means of controlling the classroom It

bewilders and frustrates teachers who are not aware of its cultural roots and who attempt to counter this passive resistance with more aggressive actions of their own. Only by learning to work with students rather than against them can the teacher cope with the silent response.

SEGREGATED VS. INTEGRATED EDUCATION

Given the cultural differences that exist between Indian children and non-Indian children, and given the failures of the American educational system to deal with the unique problems of educating Indian children, arguments of segregated versus integrated education are raised. Would Indian pupils be better off if they went to schools reserved only for Indian children, or would they benefit more from ethnically mixed schools?

The segregated, all-Indian school could provide specialized services and teachers trained to deal with children on the basis of their own culture. Such a school might emphasize Indian language and help the student to develop pride in his identity and cultural background. This kind of education would be important because negative self-image is one of the factors affecting low achievement rates among Indian children. In view of the presentation of Indians in movies, on television, and in textbooks, the persistent stereotypes of Indians as savages, drunks, and illiterates affect the self image of Indian children. The situations existing on reservations and in urban areas where Indian people live, situations of prejudice and poverty and despair, contribute to a self image of failure for many Indian people. In an all-Indian school Indian children would not be exposed to non-Indian classmates who tease them about their Indianness, look down on their poor clothing, or laugh at their inadequate command of English. Their teachers would respect their cultural background, and sharing, cooperation, respect for authority, and pride in identity would be encouraged. The children would learn to identify with pride in their culture, language, and history.

On the other hand, many Indian parents view this kind of education as handicapping their children in regard to the dominant society with which the child must deal as an adult. The argument here is that Indian children must be equipped to deal with the white man's world, and that the process of acculturating them to white ways must begin by exposure to white children and middle class values in the school setting. To preserve Indian values is simply to cling to a way of life that has led to the exploitation and suppression of Indian people in the past. If Indian children cannot learn to compete in school, they will not be able to compete in the dominant society. If they do not understand the ways of white society, they will remain poor and oppressed all their lives.

There are strong arguments on both sides of the issue. Some people

maintain that pride in identity is the first step toward equipping Indian children to value their own heritage and thus develop the self confidence they will need when they contend with the dominant society. Others contend that these children must be equipped to deal with white society from the very beginning by learning its ways. Many critics have maintained that the American school system needs a major overhaul in order to overcome long established authoritarian patterns of curriculum and instruction. Perhaps the efforts of various minorities to make the public school system more responsive to their educational needs and more respectful of cultural differences will benefit both the students and the system itself.

Higher Education

Higher education in America has become so common that a college degree is increasingly required as the minimum qualification for a desirable job. For Indian people, access to professional careers is particularly important. When they deal with the dominant society they must go through the institutions of that society—the legal system, the schools, the medical professions, the economic system, and so forth. Yet there is a critical lack of Indians in the professions of law, medicine, education, and business. Access to these and other fields for which higher education is a prerequisite has been difficult for Indians in the past because of their problems with the educational system at lower levels. Today, however, increasing numbers of Indian youths are entering college.

This section examines higher education for native Americans. First we shall look at several examples of Indian colleges and programs. Then we shall discuss some of the obstacles standing in the way of Indians going to college. The third section examines the benefits of Indian Studies programs, and the fourth looks at their problems.

COLLEGES, DEPARTMENTS, AND PROGRAMS

Although there have been Indian students at places like Harvard and Dartmouth since these schools were founded, the actual percentage of Indians who have gone to college has been very small. Indians were only half as likely as whites to enter college in 1970, and only one fifth as likely to graduate.⁵⁰ Higher education designed specially for Indians is a recent development. It appears in three forms—separate colleges, departments within a regular college or university, and a program within an ethnic studies department.

COLLEGES In 1970, Haskell Institute, which had been a trade and vocational school since 1884, was converted into a comprehensive junior

college through the addition of an academic, general education program. Vocational courses were retained, but the academic program allowed students the option of earning college transfer credits. The mathematics, science, and English courses previously offered in connection with the vocations were upgraded to college level so that students could graduate with the two year associate of arts degree.

Haskell's history illustrates the gradual change in federal education policies. Vocational schools such as Haskell and Chilocco have been traditionally geared toward preparing students to give up their tribal background and move into white society, where jobs were available. With the new orientation in 1970, Haskell also began to stress Indian studies such as languages, Indian history, and contemporary Indian affairs. It is hoped that this change will enable Indian students to go on to four-year colleges and universities well prepared academically, and with a sense of identity and pride fostered by an all Indian junior college.

Another junior college for Indians is Navajo Community College, founded in 1968 by the Navajo tribe. It is the first college on a reservation to be organized and controlled by Indians. Congress granted money for buildings, and the BIA pays some per-student support, but the basic responsibility for funding rests with the Navajo themselves. The tribe has a sizable income from oil, uranium, and coal leases, but the people of the tribe are not wealthy; the average income for an entire family is less than \$800 a year. Yet the Navajo put a great deal of their tribal income into education, and the community college, like Rough Rock Demonstration School and Ramah High School, is one of their main projects. It is controlled by the Navajo school board, most of whose members do not have any formal education beyond grade school.⁵¹

About three hundred students attend classes on campus, and another four hundred are enrolled in in service training programs conducted on the reservation. Eighty percent of the students are Navajo. Although the school technically cannot discriminate on the basis of race and is open to all tribes, the emphasis is so heavily on Navajo language and culture that it does not attract many students from other groups.⁵²

Classes in Navajo language and culture are taught by elder members of the tribe. The college also offers a regular academic program which includes history, mathematics, science, and other usual junior college courses. These are taught mainly by non Indian teachers. Consequently, there is a balance between the traditional Indian culture and the skills students will need in transferring to a regular four-year college.

A third specialized college is Deganawada Quetzalcoatl University in Davis, California, which was started by a group of Indian and Mexican-American students who were seeking a school that concentrated on

Indian history The college is named after Deganawada, traditional founder of the League of the Iroquois, and Quetzalcoatl, Aztec god of wisdom The students assembled faculty members, acquired part of a military base, and began a university which was totally oriented toward Chicano and American Indian culture

DEPARTMENTS Separate institutions like Haskell Indian Junior College, Navajo Community College, and Deganawada Quetzalcoatl University, devoted entirely to minority culture, are few in number More common are Indian Studies programs within typical colleges and universities At two universities — Montana and Minnesota — Indian Studies have full departmental status In other schools they are programs within minority studies departments

The American Indian Studies Department at the University of Minnesota was created in 1969 through the activities of a dedicated group of students Students were involved in planning the department and in searching for faculty to staff it, and the American Indian Student Association continues to be an important part of the Department's strength Full departmental status provides stability of funding and autonomy in decision making, enhancing the program's position within the University There are about three hundred Indians in the total student body of some forty two thousand In addition to serving students, the Department offers advisory services to the Indian community in the state

PROGRAMS WITHIN DEPARTMENTS The third, most common form of higher education specifically oriented towards Indian students is the program which exists below the departmental level In such cases, Indian Studies may be part of a minority studies department that combines several groups into one administrative unit An example is found at the University of California, Berkeley, where the Ethnic Studies Department consists of three programs Chicano, Asian American, and native American

BARRIERS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Special colleges and programs are necessary because of the obstacles confronting Indians throughout their educational careers Poverty, lack of role models, suspicion of educated people, culture shock, peer pressure — all have obstructed Indian pupils in elementary and secondary schools, and continue to hinder them as they attempt to get a college education These disadvantages reduce their chances of entering college, and they undermine their chances of staying in college after they get there

Poverty is a fundamental problem Many Indian families simply cannot afford college education for their children Tuition, which has in

creased markedly in the past few years, is only one part of the difficulty. The cost of room, food, clothing, books, and supplies for one student may exceed the entire income of an Indian family. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has a scholarship program, but the funds are generally inadequate to support all the students who are interested. In fact, the Bureau discourages students from applying for college when its scholarship money begins to run short.

Another problem is the scarcity of role models which would give Indian youths some ideas about the opportunities available to educated people. At Haskell Indian Junior College most of the students in the college transfer curriculum wanted to major in elementary education or social work. Teachers in Bureau or public schools, and social workers who administer welfare programs, may be the only college educated people with whom Indian students come into contact. The lack of economic opportunities on Indian reservations and in Indian communities limits the number and variety of trained professionals who are working there. Students therefore are unaware of the wide range of other professions that might be open to them. In most Indian communities the traditional roles after high school are marriage for girls and marginal jobs or military service for boys. Consequently, Indian students need to be counseled about other careers and professions.

Suspicion is another obstacle. The lack of college trained Indian people on reservations and in Indian communities is also due, in part, to the fact that many Indians, perhaps because of their own negative educational experiences, view highly educated persons with distrust. They believe that the college graduate has sold out his own values to obtain an education. Some college educated Indians have been rejected by their communities when they sought to return to them. This distrust of educated people may be sensed by young Indians who are faced with the decision of whether to go to college or to remain in their own community.

Culture shock is still another barrier. The transition from a close knit community and a small rural school, or from an inner city school, to the complexities of a large college, may cause a major shock for an Indian student. The shock may be especially great for students who have graduated from isolated BIA boarding schools. Many Indian students who enter college find that they are not prepared to cope with the situation. For instance, they may not be familiar with the process of standing in long lines and filling out numerous forms. (It might be argued that any student who manages to get through four years of college, properly enrolling every quarter or semester, ought to be granted a degree for that, if for nothing else — perhaps a Bachelor of Persistence degree.)

Many Indian people react to situations of confusion or stress by simply

withdrawing. They feel that it is more reasonable to avoid such situations than to tackle seemingly insurmountable obstacles. The obstacle may be as simple as the indifference of a clerk in an office, with the resulting failure to supply necessary information. Such an obstruction might be enough to make an Indian student forget the whole business of college right there. Even for students who have been to junior colleges or Indian colleges, where the atmosphere may be much more relaxed, the transition to a large university can be a shock. This is illustrated by Dr. Kidwell's experience with a student at Haskell:

At Haskell the pressure was not to study and achieve and make good grades and be honored for your academic accomplishments. The pressure was, 'Classes are over, let's go down to the Inn and have a beer,' or 'We'll go downtown and window shop,' or 'Let's take my car and drive around.' The pressure certainly was not toward achieving academically.

I took one student up to see the University of Kansas. It is right up the hill from Haskell. June and her boyfriend were somewhat interested in school, so I drove them up there one evening. I think June was actually thinking of working on a term paper, using the University library. As we drove up the hill she exclaimed, 'My goodness, those students are all carrying books! What are they doing?'

I replied that they were probably going to the library to study. June was aghast that students at night would be walking around the campus carrying books. It was something that students at Haskell rarely did.

Behavior that was normal at Haskell would probably be disastrous at a four-year college or university.

Peer pressure, as we have seen, is a very strong force in Indian education. Children are brought up with the idea that they are part of the group, and the group's expectations are very important. An Indian student at Haskell, for example, who was not part of a group would worry. As the Waxes observed, peer pressure is also evident in the way a student dresses. Lack of proper clothes might be used as a justification for dropping out of school. 'I didn't have the right clothes and everybody made fun of me'⁵³ The real reasons might be poor scholarship, frustration, anxiety over ridicule by teachers and peers, but in this case clothing would be the obvious excuse.

Of course, students of all ethnic groups are subject to peer pressure. For example, white students, too, (especially girls) may be afraid of being labeled "brains" because of the damage the label may do to their social activities. But, in white society there is also emphasis upon individual achievement—the honors ceremony at the end of the year, the awards for this or that accomplishment—and students who are rejected by their peers may find satisfaction in praise from teachers and parents.

For Indian students, however, this individual achievement is not an ideal. There is no alternate satisfaction in academic excellence if Indian students are rejected and cannot participate in the social life of their peers. Because peer pressure among Indians in colleges and universities is not toward academic achievement, individuals may be pulled away from their studies towards having a good time with their companions.

All these factors reduce the Indian's chances of completing college. About 50 percent of all students who begin college eventually graduate, but only about 25 percent of the Indians who enter college complete the requirements for a degree. These figures are made more important by the fact that only 18 percent of all Indian youths enter college, compared to 40 percent of their white counterparts.⁵⁴ The high dropout rate for Indian students is particularly disturbing in view of the fact that the students who enter college are the cream of the crop — they have successfully completed high school and have the money and motivation required to attempt a college education.

Thus, getting a college degree is not merely a matter of academic ability — other ingredients are also involved. The need for money is obvious, but motivation is essential, too, and may be influenced by various factors, including awareness of education's benefits, encouragement from family and friends, good counseling in high school, familiarity with white bureaucracy, and support from classmates. Indian students are less likely than white students to have these essential aids.

BENEFITS OF INDIAN STUDIES

Because of these problems, special programs are needed to recruit Indians into college and to retain them after they have entered. These programs have several functions. Perhaps the most immediate is providing a home base on a large, otherwise impersonal campus. This is crucial in view of the extremely high dropout rate for Indian students. Persuading capable youths to enter college is one thing, but keeping them there until they graduate is another matter. Indian Studies will, it is hoped, provide enough personal attention from faculty, secretaries, and other students to encourage Indian students to persevere for several years in an otherwise unfavorable environment.

Another, related benefit of special colleges and programs is that they assist Indians in developing a better sense of identity. Like other minority members, Indian people are likely to have an inadequate image of themselves, as individuals and as a group. They have been influenced by the traditions passed down to them by their elders, the tales that are subject to the vagaries of human memory and to the disruptive effects of poverty, dislocation, and genocide. Information they get from non-Indian

sources is likely to reflect the distorted stereotypes held by the dominant white society, as exemplified in cowboy and-Indian movies and television programs Indian studies can help to rectify errors and omissions so that the Indian students have a more accurate picture of their background

Another benefit of Indian Studies is that it gives non-Indians a better understanding of native Americans This is especially important for people working in occupations that might affect Indians elementary and secondary education, law, social work, and the like The distorted portrayal of Indians in textbooks and movies has left many whites with little knowledge of Indian history and culture By presenting courses from the Indian point of view, Indian Studies can do a great deal to correct the misinformation that many people have Misleading portrayal of Indians is exemplified by a fourth-grade civics text which devoted a page and a half to Indian history Although it was admitted that Indians had been defrauded by the government through broken treaties, it said that Indians had finally been put on reservations in Oklahoma and elsewhere, (there are no reservations in Oklahoma today although many Indian people do live in the state) and that oil was discovered on some reservations and the Indians had become rich Such a presentation helps to perpetuate the legend that all Indians live in Oklahoma and are rich, a situation far from the truth If the distorted versions of Indians as hostile savages have contributed to a negative self-image for many Indian students, they have also created an appalling ignorance of Indian history among whites

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STUDIES

Along with their benefits, Indian colleges and studies also have problems These problems are not unique to Indian Studies, and may occur in other minority programs, too

One difficulty stems from the rapidity with which some of these programs have been organized A number of them began too hastily, without adequate planning A staff is recruited on short notice and told to start teaching, but no comprehensive plan is developed beforehand During the 1960s there were attempts — almost frantic attempts — to bring Indians, blacks, Chicanos, and Asian students into college

Yet it is questionable whether higher education can accommodate these students once it gets them in It can recruit them in large numbers, but if no special attempts are made to help minority students overcome the cultural shock, the complexity of the college, and lack of adequate educational background, then it may be a disservice to bring them into college in the first place

A second difficulty encountered by Indian Studies is the shortage of Indians with formal academic credentials who can staff the programs. In spite of their knowledge of their own culture, Indians are still required to validate their experience in terms of the white educational system. Because of the limited educational opportunities which existed in the past, there is only a small supply of native Americans who have the professional qualifications for teaching in a college or university.

A third problem of ethnic studies in general is their tendency toward excessive group orientation catering to students of their own ethnicity (or tribe) and discouraging others. This clannishness may happen accidentally, in that people have more in common and feel more comfortable with members of their own ethnic group. Or it may happen deliberately, if people feel that outsiders are unsympathetic. Minority members may also feel that there is only a limited supply of money, manpower, and other resources for the program, so it should not be wasted on outsiders, particularly whites, who already enjoy advantages denied the minorities.

But, as mentioned earlier, ethnic studies can be a way of educating the rest of the student body and the larger society. In spite of the efforts by minorities to get more control over their own destinies, whites will probably continue to make many decisions affecting minorities. These decisions should be based on an accurate knowledge of, and sympathy for, the minority situation.

A fourth problem confronting ethnic studies is autonomy. To what extent is a program in Indian Studies free to determine its own curriculum, choose its faculty, and select its students? Such freedom, as noted earlier, is greater for departments than for programs within a department. At most colleges and universities, Indian Studies is merely one of several programs within an ethnic studies department, each program therefore must compete with the others for the same limited funds. This competition may be intense enough to undermine the solidarity and effectiveness of the ethnic studies department, making it more vulnerable to attacks — particularly in the form of budget cuts — by administrators and legislators who are unsympathetic to the basic idea of ethnic studies.

This brings us to a fifth potential problem of ethnic programs: the adequacy of their support, particularly financial support. Are they getting enough money to serve their students satisfactorily? How steady will funding be in the future? The faddish aspect of ethnic programs injects uncertainty into their future. Thus, a basic question is whether these programs will actually become an integral part of the institution, or whether they will continue to exist as merely a token nod toward the liberal movement, or as long as money from outside foundations holds.

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out Are universities really willing to commit their resources fully—money, classrooms, personnel—to Indian programs? It is one thing for a university to approve a program it does not have to pay for. It is another matter for the university to accept responsibility for a program after the external funding runs out.

The role of minority studies in colleges and universities reflects the problems of motivation and cultural differences that persist throughout all levels of education. In terms of immediate needs for trained professional personnel who can bridge the gap between Indian cultures and the dominant society, the role of college programs in minority studies is an extremely significant one. Such programs give the students a source of identity within the school and provide special educational opportunities. For those Indian students who have persisted through the difficulties of grade school education and who have finally achieved the level of college education, the achievement of a college degree gives them the chance to develop skills that they can take back to their home communities or can use in the dominant society to help their own people. Indian students with college degrees are called upon to validate their skills not only with their own communities but with the academic community of the university. To do so, they need the support of Indian-oriented programs at the university level.

Conclusions

The American school system has too often been used as a weapon against Indians. Education was imposed upon them as a means of destroying their culture and their language and of teaching them the ways of the white man so that they could be assimilated into white society. The educational system encourages competition and individual achievement, whereas Indian societies have valued cooperation and group identity. The school has emphasized long-term goals, jobs, and economic security, whereas Indian people have lived with immediate goals and needs.

Schools have perpetrated an image of Indians as hostile savages, largely ignoring their true history. They have supported the stereotype of the drunken, ignorant Indian, then, on the basis of this stereotype, have shown disdain for Indian children and their culture.

A sympathetic knowledge of Indian cultures might reveal useful techniques for dealing with all students, Indian and non-Indian. For instance, behavior that is usually condemned as cheating can have beneficial effects. Children who give information may learn in the process

of explaining to others Pupils who acquire the information learn something they did not know before, they may be more receptive to information from their peers than from an authoritarian teacher For Indian children, teachers should emphasize cooperative learning rather than competitive individual achievement The educational system should be open to many methods, perhaps to be used in combination rather than as mutually exclusive

The curriculum of the schools should also be revised Havighurst concluded

This curriculum appears to reject, attempts to eliminate, or simply ignores the Indian heritage of the child A successful education need not be incompatible with the retention of Indian identity, pride, and self respect There are special needs among Indian youth populations that the ordinary school curriculum is insufficient to meet Recognition of these needs and programs to meet them are essential⁵⁵

American Indians today must live in two cultures They may be members of an Indian community, but their lives are constantly affected by the dominant white society They cannot ignore either of these, yet achieving a desirable balance between the two is not easy Education must enable Indian people to cope with white society without renouncing their own heritage They must be able to deal with the institutions — schools, government agencies, medical facilities, law enforcement agencies, political systems — that affect their lives

The school program should be developed with curriculum, atmosphere, and behavior of teachers and students aimed primarily at maintaining respect for Indian culture and the dignity of Indian people while maximizing the capability of students to move comfortably between two social orders, the larger community and the Indian, through teaching skill and competence in the non-Indian culture and economy⁵⁶

The ability of Indian people to manage their own affairs depends upon an education that strengthens their own sense of identity and also equips them with knowledge of the non Indian world as it affects their own

Paying more attention to Indian culture is not simply a matter of being condescendingly "nice" to an unfortunate minority White society can benefit from its contact with Indian culture For example, Indian people have lived with nature instead of exploiting it, and the dominant society, now beginning to feel the consequences of reckless exploitation of natural resources, must learn to accept a simpler standard of living in order to preserve the resources that are left Perhaps white society will begin to appreciate the Indian respect for nature Perhaps, too, Indian

emphasis on cooperation, hospitality, and sharing should be respected as alternatives to the competition and greed so characteristic of the dominant society.

The Indian heritage of America cannot be ignored. It is still manifest in the lives of people who practice traditional religions and speak languages which existed on the North American continent long before the coming of the white man. This heritage is also evident in foods and place names, although it is seldom fully appreciated. Yet the melting-pot myth persists in the classroom, perpetuating the false belief that free public education will provide equal opportunity for all. Past attempts to acculturate Indians through education failed because of the differences between the expectations of the school and of the tribe. The school must recognize the value of cultural differences, and should incorporate diversity in order to meet the needs of its diverse students.

Notes

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- 2 Murray L Wax, *Indian Americans Unity and Diversity*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey Prentice Hall, 1971, p 27
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- 4 Ibid
- 5 Bureau of Indian Affairs, 'You Asked About Urban Indians,' Washington, D C, mimeographed pamphlet, and, U S Department of Commerce, *U S Census Report for 1970*, Form 1-F American Indians Census statistics for 1970 show an urban population of 340,367
- 6 U S Office of Education, *Bulletin No 13, Adv Stats for Management*, National Center for Educational Statistics, January 2, 1973, p 3 'The question of how one defines an Indian complicates any use of statistics. The standards established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs differ from those established by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in connection with affirmative action programs. HEW uses the 267,000 figure on the basis of self-identification or identification by teachers or the community. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which uses a criteria of one-quarter degree of Indian blood or more, gives the total number of Indian students aged five to eighteen as 206,683. The Bureau of the Census figures show a total elementary and secondary school enrollment of 223,528. Statistics concerning Indian education are subject to wide variation depending on their source.'
- 7 Ibid
- 8 Ibid, p 12
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- 10 This section on the history of Indian education is based on these sources

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- 26 Ibid, pp 257-258
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 42 Robert V Dumont, Jr., *Learning English and How to Be Silent*, mimeographed, n.d., available from American Indian Studies Department, University of Minnesota, p 1
 43 Ibid
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 45 Ibid, pp 1-2
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 50 Fuchs and Havighurst, p 260
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 53 Wax, Wax, and Dumont, p 97
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Suggestions for Further Reading

- Adams, Evelyn C *American Indian Education Government Schools and Economic Progress* Morningside Heights, New York King's Crown Press, 1946 A survey of the history of Indian education Although the conclusions are dated, the basic historical information is valuable as a survey of changing attitudes and policies in Indian education
- Berkhofer, Robert F *Salvation and the Savage An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* Lexington University of Kentucky Press, 1965 A historical survey of missionary activities with special attention to educational systems established by missionaries
- Berry, Brewton *The Education of American Indians A Survey of the Literature* Prepared for the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate Washington Government Printing Office, 1969 An invaluable summary of major

research studies on Indian education, including an extensive bibliography of sources

Fuchs, Estelle, and Robert J Havighurst *To Live on This Earth American Indian Education* Garden City, New York Doubleday, 1972 The results of a major, four-year study conducted for the US Office of Education Contains valuable case studies, achievement test evaluations, and interviews with parents, students, and teachers

Indian Education A National Tragedy—A National Challenge 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, made by its Special Committee on Indian Education Washington Government Printing Office, 1969 A report prepared from the hearings of the subcommittee throughout the country Descriptions of educational situations, reports of experts in the field of Indian education, and statistical information

LaFlesh, Francis *The Middle Five Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe* Madison The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963 An account of boarding school life in the 1850s, as recounted by a man who went through the experiences he describes and later became a leader in the Omaha tribe

McNickle, D'arcy *Native American Tribalism Indian Survivals and Renewals* London Published for the Institute of Race Relations, London, by Oxford University Press, 1973 An excellent summary of American Indian history, brief but very informative regarding cultural attitudes

Wax, Murray L, Rosalie H Wax, and Robert V Dumont *Formal Education in an American Indian Community*, Supplement to *Social Problems*, Official Journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, 11 (spring 1964) Report of a major research study conducted on the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation in South Dakota, dealing with the relationship between the community and the Bureau of Indian Affairs school

Wax, Murray *Indian Americans Unity and Diversity* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey Prentice-Hall, 1971 This well-written book examines the past and present and serves as an excellent introduction and a useful reference

Women are expected to be attractive and motherly, marry, and raise children, if a woman must work outside the home, a low level job is assumed to be quite adequate for her limited ability.

In the past, a girl's formal education ended when she had learned the three Rs in a "dame school" or other private institution. Even this minimal education was probably supported as much for its baby sitting function as for any real conviction that women should be literate. Education was expensive, so why waste it on a girl who would be getting married in a few years? Later, when publicly financed schools were established, girls were educated along with the boys at no extra cost, for, it was assumed, one master could teach them all at the same time.²

The real incentive to educate women came from the realization that female teachers could be paid less than men, although they did the same work. In many school districts women received about half the salary that male teachers did, *economy minded school boards therefore wanted women for teachers*. Parents encouraged their daughters to prepare for a teaching career because it was about the only respectable job open to women. Working outside the home in any other occupation reflected poorly on the ability of a woman's family to support her, as well as casting doubt on her own morals. Boys could get acceptable jobs without much education, therefore, many dropped out of school early, before graduating. Consequently, from the Civil War down to the present, more girls than boys attended high school. As requirements for teaching jobs increased, so did women's interest in higher education. By 1920 there were almost as many women as men in college.³

While this may seem to be a rosy picture, there are problems. Women have not attained equality with men. Only 42 percent of college students in 1971 were women—a considerable drop since 1920.⁴ This fact is indicative of women's position in occupations generally. Women are paid less than men, and have less skilled, less prestigious jobs. In 1970 the median annual earnings of women and men workers were \$2,730 and \$7,152 respectively.⁵ Thus the gap in earnings amounted to more than \$4,000.

This gap in pay is not simply one of differences in jobs, even when men and women are in the same field there is a difference. An example of this inequality is provided by the starting salaries offered to men and women college graduates by 110 business and industrial firms within the same field. Women were offered from \$18 to \$86 per month less than men.⁶

Within an occupation, women get the poorer paying, lower ranking jobs. Thus, in public elementary schools, the vast majority of the classroom teachers (84 percent) are women,⁷ but three fourths of the prin-

cipals are men.⁸ In public secondary schools half the teachers are women,⁹ but almost *all* principals are men.¹⁰ There is only one woman among the fifty state superintendents, and in the National Education Association, the nation's largest teacher organization, two thirds of the members are women but only one of the ten top staff members is a woman.¹¹ A similar situation exists in the health field, where there are many women, most of them in lower positions, such as nurses, secretaries, clerks, and so forth. Only 7 percent of physicians in 1968 were women.¹²

Unfortunately, the situation is getting worse rather than better. In 1940 women constituted 45 percent of all professional and technical workers, but thirty years later women had declined to 37 percent of the total.¹³ The reverse is true among the less skilled, lower paid service occupations today a higher percentage of these service jobs are held by women than in the past. In 1940, 40 percent of all service workers (except those in private households) were women, but by 1970 the percentage of women in these lower occupations had risen to 60 percent.¹⁴

The decline of women from high positions, or their failure to achieve equality, is particularly noticeable in higher education, where we might have expected the most awareness, the most open mindedness. The percentage of women on college and university faculties has actually *decreased*, from 27 percent in 1930 (and 26 percent in 1920) to 22 percent in 1973.¹⁵ The higher we look in colleges and universities the fewer women we find. The percentage of full, tenured professors is lower than that of beginning instructors, and at the very top, only 1 percent of college and university presidents are women.¹⁶

Much of this inequality is due to the unfavorable image, or stereotype, which society holds about women. Females, it is believed, are naturally inferior to men in many ways, but particularly in regard to work. We expect women to be gentle, pretty, quiet, dependent, supportive—and incompetent in science, mathematics, leadership, abstract thinking, and other qualities necessary in highly ranked occupations. In contrast, men are supposed to be smart, aggressive, logical, adventurous, unemotional, and good with numbers and machines.

Although there is little scientific evidence to support the assumption that such differences are innate, these beliefs persist, creating and maintaining many problems for women—and, indirectly, for men, too. Employers, organizations, and schools do not offer women the same opportunities that are given to men. Perhaps even more crippling, sexual stereotypes undermine a woman's own confidence in herself, as a result, she lowers her level of ambition and restricts her goals to those that society tells her are appropriate—romance, marriage, motherhood, or a dull, poorly paid job.

Consequently, unknown numbers of women who might have succeeded in creative occupations rewarding to themselves and to society, settle for lower-level positions. Millions of young women are conditioned to think of housewife as their ultimate position in life and are consequently unprepared later, in middle age, when their youthful beauty (much emphasized in our culture) has faded and their children have grown up. Then they find themselves deprived of their primary reason for existing. It is little wonder that many more women than men are declared "sick" by psychiatrists and psychologists.¹⁷

Formal Education

How much of this acceptance of stereotypes is due to education? Quite a lot. Schools are part of society, and they reflect its beliefs. Formal education reinforces the stereotypes children have been taught by their parents, friends, and the mass media.¹⁸

In school it is almost exclusively women teachers who guide their first serious learning experiences. In the boy's first readers, men work at the same jobs with the same tools he has observed in his neighborhood — "T" for truck, "B" for bus, "W" for wagon. His teachers expect him to be rugged, physically strong, and aggressive. After a few years he moves into separate classes for gym, woodworking, and machine shop. For the girl, women are again the ones in charge of children. Her first readers portray women in aprons, brooms in their hands or babies in their arms. Teachers expect her to be quiet, dependent, with feminine interests in dolls and house play and dressing up. In a few years she moves into separate classes for child care, cooking, and practical nursing.¹⁹

The remainder of this chapter examines education in chronological order, first elementary schools, then secondary schools, next undergraduate education in colleges and universities, and finally graduate schools. Within each of these levels of education, antifemale bias can be detected in three major areas: textbooks, faculty, and structure — including the way the school is organized, personnel are assigned, and classes are scheduled.

Elementary Education

TEXTBOOKS

Unfavorable attitudes about women are very evident in children's books. In recent years studies of children's literature have observed that boys are depicted as active, capable, and aggressive, but girls are timid, subservient, helpless — or simply nonexistent.

Children's books show that boys build, dig, climb, fight, ride, fall down, get dirty, and have adventures, girls sit quietly and watch. For example, one book entitled "*I'm Glad I'm a Boy! I'm Glad I'm a Girl!*" says "Boys invent things" and "Girls use what boys invent." The pictures show a boy making a lamp and a girl sitting in an easychair reading by his lamp. Mary Key sums up the situation by saying "Boys do, girls are."²⁰

These stereotypes appear early. Howe reports that

primers used in the first three grades offer children a view of a "typical" American family a mother who does not work, a father who does, two children—a brother who is always older than a sister—and two pets—a dog and sometimes a cat—whose sexes and ages mirror those of the brother and sister. In these books, boys build or paint things, they also pull girls in wagons and push merry-go-rounds. Girls carry purses when they go shopping, they help mother cook or pretend that they are cooking, and they play with their dolls. When they are not making messes, they are cleaning up their rooms or other people's messes. Plots in which girls are involved usually depend on their inability to do something.²¹

Although young girls' strength and muscular coordination are about the same as boys', California textbooks depict boys as excelling in physical tasks. A boy throws the basketball skillfully through the hoop, but the girl tries and misses. A boy repairs his bicycle and rides it, the girl simply admires him. In creative activities, too, it is the males who are portrayed as excelling: a boy is the best painter, a boy is the best storyteller, a boy wins a snow-sculpting contest, and so forth.²²

Not only do girls fail when they try to imitate boys—they are also punished for doing so. When a girl suggests that she and a boy climb a tree, the boy breaks a leg and she is scolded for such "shameful" behavior. "What's wrong with you?" asks the older woman.²³

nor inspire them to compete with men in so called "masculine" occupations. Rarely do textbooks or storybooks tell about women lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, or women in business. Far more typical is the idea of marriage and motherhood, if other vocations are mentioned, they are likely to be of modest status, and often the woman is simply helping the real breadwinner, the man.

For example, Howe tells of a story about a little girl who is playing house. As Primrose poured tea for her dolls she asked herself whom should she marry. First she thought about marrying a mailman, because she could go to all the homes and give people their mail. Next she thought about marrying a policeman, she could help him take the children across the street. After considering ten other jobs, Primrose decided "But now that I think it over, maybe I'll just marry somebody I love." Love is the opiate which helps a girl to forget about what she would like to do or like to be. "With love as reinforcer, she can imagine herself helping some man in his work"²⁶ An analysis of girls' books indicates a preponderance of stories about dating, romance, and love. Indeed, women's literature offers no other alternatives, suggesting that a woman lives in a limited world without control over her destiny.²⁷

This lack of alternative careers has been termed *the cult of the apron*. This cult is implied, for example, by a study of fifty eight children's picture books on display at Eastern Michigan University. twenty-one books had pictures of women with aprons. Even animals were wearing aprons.²⁸

Although 40 percent of mothers are employed outside the home, many analyses make no mention of a working mother in the particular books examined. Even in the Bank Street Readers, designed particularly for inner city children, there is only one mother in the three books who is shown as working, and she is employed in a cafeteria. At the professional level, too, women are absent. Leah Heyn indicates that in the several children's books dealing with health and medicine the doctor is invariably a white male, and nurses and receptionists are female.²⁹

Frisof's analysis of social studies textbooks found men in more than a hundred different jobs but women in less than thirty. Moreover, women in these thirty jobs played subordinate roles, serving other people or helping men with more important work. According to these social studies books:

Men's work requires more training, men direct people and plan things, men go places and make decisions, at meetings, men are always the speakers, men make the money and are the most important members of families.³⁰

Even as outstanding a woman as Madame Curie is portrayed in a

were shorter. Often the stories about men do not mention women, but stories about females include males with whom the women interact.³⁶

In Book 6 of the Roberts English Series, there are thirty main sections, but only two feature a female. One of these sections presents a supposedly humorous poem by Ogden Nash about a little girl — possibly neurotic — "who didn't let things bother her very much." The "things" were a hideous giant, a wicked witch, a huge bear, and a troublesome doctor. The other section compares a prairie wife, whose existence is dull and lonely, with a weary, jaded hill country wife.³⁷

The eighth grade book in the Roberts Series also has thirty sections, with three focusing on females. One section is the "Solitary Reaper," and another is a story of a crotchety old aunt. The third section about a female is 'The Hag,' a witch who rides off with the devil to perpetrate mischief.³⁸

Pictures in children's books are also indicative. A study by U'ren found that many California textbooks had females in only about 15 percent of the illustrations.³⁹ A review by Frisof of social studies texts found that the pictures show males seven times more often than they do females.⁴⁰

When the text is not specific about which sex is being referred to, the illustrations are likely to be male. For example, in the books in the Roberts English Series, which have a lot of poetry, many poems are written without indications of the sex of the person referred to. "I," "me," "we," "they," are used. Nevertheless, the accompanying illustrations almost all show males. Book 4 has eleven poems illustrated with males, while none is illustrated with female or female dominated pictures.⁴¹

Sex bias appears even among outstanding, prize winning books for children. For instance, an analysis of the forty nine Newbery Award winners in 1969 found that books about boys outnumbered books about girls by three to one. Another study analyzed the winners and runners-up for the Caldecott Award over the past twenty years. This prestigious annual award by the Children's Service Committee of the American Library Association leads to wide distribution of the winning books across the nation. Of the eighty books, the titles included male names more than three times more frequently than female names. A quarter of the books had merely token females. Over the last twenty years the presence of females in the Caldecott prize books has steadily decreased.⁴²

Fisher's study of books for youngsters in libraries and bookstores found five times as many males in the titles as females. The popular books of Maurice Sendak and Dr Seuss are almost all male.⁴³

Sexual stereotypes appear even in textbooks for supposedly objective

fields like mathematics and science. This fact becomes clear when we consider how strange it would be to find the following hypothetical examples in an elementary school arithmetic book: boys babysitting, cooking, playing with dolls, or sewing; girls playing baseball or marbles, building model airplanes, or repairing the bicycle of a boy the same age who lives next door.⁴⁴

The kind of problems or of illustrative examples used by teachers is important. This point has been demonstrated by experimental studies like those of Milton. He found that girls performed better on mathematical and geometric problems dealing with "feminine" subjects, like cooking and gardening, than with identical problems involving guns, money, or geometric designs. The logical steps and computations were exactly the same but the typical girl evidently believes that the capacity to solve problems of arithmetic, physics, geometry, or logic is a uniquely masculine skill, therefore her motivation to attack such problems is low. Her reduced incentive may reflect the fact that her self esteem is not at stake, since girls are not expected to perform well on such tasks. In fact, she might feel threatened if she did well, since excellence in such areas is equated with a loss of femininity. In this light it is interesting to note that girls who rejected traditional feminine interests did better on mathematical and geometrical problems than girls who retained traditional feminine interests.⁴⁵

In sum, the stereotypes, the prejudices, the beliefs held by society are reflected in books written for children and used in the schools. Although we cannot say precisely how much effect these books have on children, it seems safe to assume that this effect, whatever its degree, will be a negative one, more likely to restrict women's aspirations than to expand them.

ATTITUDES

It is not true that girls and boys are treated equally in elementary school. They are not, and some of this inequality comes from the attitudes of teachers. Teachers live in society and are influenced by its beliefs. The prejudices and ideals, the fears and hopes, the good and bad assumptions prevalent in society are reflected, to some degree, by individual teachers as they work with their pupils in the school. Since our culture has certain assumptions about the abilities and proper place of women, it is not surprising that teachers also hold these beliefs—and convey them to their pupils.

Ironically, the fact that the majority of elementary teachers are women does not eliminate antifemale prejudices. Many female teachers hold derogatory views about women, and these views influence their

teaching. For example, a college student recalled an incident that took place when she was in the sixth grade. The class was discussing an article about a chef. A pupil

ventured the opinion that cooking was women's work that a man was a "sissy" to work in the kitchen. The teacher's response surprised us all. She informed us calmly that men make the best cooks, just as they make the best dress designers, singers, and laundry workers. "Yes," she said, "anything a woman can do a man can do better." There were no male students present, my teacher was a woman.⁴⁶

We know from studies such as Rosenthal's that teachers' expectations do have an effect upon pupils. If a teacher expects her students to do well, they are more likely to do so than if she believes them incapable of good performance.⁴⁷ It is unfortunate, therefore, that teachers, regardless of their sex, generally believe that girls do poorly in mathematics and science. In a sense, the teachers are correct. Because women in our society are not expected to think logically or to understand scientific principles, girls are likely to accept this belief themselves and to give up trying to learn science and mathematics. Why beat your head against a stone wall? No one likes to waste time trying to do something in which there is no chance of success.

The influence of teachers' attitudes is not magic but simply a self-fulfilling prophecy. Both teacher and pupils work harder if they believe there is a chance to succeed. Teachers and pupils give more time and effort to the subject, and their efforts result in improvement, a reward which in turn stimulates further effort and further improvement. Pupils respond to increased attention and encouragement from the teacher by trying harder, and by trying harder they in turn stimulate the teacher to give them more attention and encouragement.

Thus the amount of interaction between teacher and pupils is an important factor in learning, but here, too, there is sexual inequality. A study by Spaulding found that teachers interacted less with girls than with boys. This was the case in each of the four major facets of teaching behavior: instruction, approval, disapproval, and listening to the child.⁴⁸ Active, aggressive boys may demand more attention than girls do from the teacher—or, perhaps teachers—most of whom are women—simply like boys better. Whatever the reasons, the consequences are worth considering. What might be the effects upon girls and boys as they go through many hours of interaction with teachers during their years of elementary school?

One consequence might be a cumulative increase in independent, autonomous behavior by boys as they are disapproved, praised, listened to, and

taught more actively by the teacher. Another might be a lowering of self-esteem generally for girls as they receive less attention and are criticized more for their lack of knowledge and skill.⁴⁹

A study by Sears found that bright fifth- and sixth-grade girls had lower concepts of their own mental ability than did boys of the same intelligence.⁵⁰

Other beliefs about women also influence pupils. Our society expects men to be active and rugged, women to be passive and delicate. The teacher, too, expects her pupils to behave this way, even in kindergarten, where she asks the boys to move chairs while the girls sit and watch, learning to be ladies who like being waited upon. Boys are usually placed in charge of student activities, while girls are assigned subordinate roles, such as ineffectual vice president or stereotyped secretary.⁵¹ Hall monitors and traffic safety guards are typically boys, whereas girls are assigned to work in the lunch room or the office. In these familiar jobs, not only the work itself but the student worker's relation to authority is worth noting. The jobs given to boys allow them some independence, away from direct adult scrutiny, and give them some authority over their fellow pupils. Typical girls' jobs, however—office assistant or cafeteria helper—are subordinate jobs, placing the girls directly under the surveillance of an adult and providing little opportunity to exercise authority over other students, or even to make decisions which might affect them.

Whether or not this is stated to pupils in so many words, the lesson is clear: exercising authority over others is a male prerogative, not for females. Boys who direct others are "exercising leadership" but girls who direct others are suspected of being "bossy."

Teachers' attitudes convey other lessons, too. Girls are expected to be quiet and gentle, boys to be noisy and aggressive. Competitive, physical activities are considered appropriate for boys, while girls are expected to be ladylike, restrained, and supportive of others. Girls who deviate from this expectation are likely to be viewed as tomboys. For example, a female teacher was discussing a sixth grade girl who could run faster and bat a ball farther than any boy in the school. Instead of being pleased the teacher was worried, commenting, "She's very active now but I hope she'll grow out of it." The other teacher replied, "Goodness yes, how will she ever get a husband?"⁵²

Such attitudes on the part of teachers do much to explain the fact that at an early age the sexes are separated for physical education and hygiene. The boys are given preferential treatment and the girls are almost totally neglected.⁵³

Boys and girls are taught different activities and often use different

equipment. Girls are less likely than boys to receive instruction or supervision in athletic skills, whether from their own teacher or a special physical education instructor.

Teachers' attitudes toward fighting among pupils are particularly indicative. While clashes among children of either sex are discouraged, teachers are less tolerant of brawls between girls than between boys. It is expected that girls will have their little feuds but these should remain purely on a verbal level. Actual physical combat between girls is viewed with alarm by many teachers who feel that boys who fight are simply showing their manliness. A girl who gets into several fights during her elementary school career is considered to have "serious problems," whereas an equally pugnacious boy, though also a nuisance, may be seen almost admiringly as "spirited" or "able to take care of himself" or "not someone you push around easily." One principal kept boxing gloves which he loaned to boys who were unable to resolve their differences, so that they could "settle the argument like men." This method was not offered to girls.⁵⁴

Even more basic than the particular behavior considered appropriate or not appropriate for boys or girls is the fact that sex differences are emphasized at all. Separate lavatories for boys and for girls is a step beyond what is found at home, and the idea of differences is firmly ingrained in many other aspects of the school. Boys and girls usually line up in two separate lines to enter or to leave the classroom. If boys and girls play together in games organized by the teacher, it is very often as one team — all girls — against another — all boys. And the teacher reinforces evidence of two distinct groups every time she asks "Who can finish first — the boys or the girls?"

STRUCTURE

The way the school is organized also reinforces general sexual stereotypes. Two areas will be considered: subjects offered and personnel assignments. With respect to subjects, differentiation by sex begins early.

There are classes in all elementary schools which boys and girls take separately, of which are offered only to one sex. These are precisely the courses most directly relevant to adult family roles: courses in sex and family living (where communities are brave enough to hold them) are typically offered in separate classes for boys and for girls, or for girls only. Courses in shop and craft work are scheduled for boys only, courses in child care, nursing, and cooking are for girls only. In departing from completely coeducational programs, the schools are reinforcing the traditional division of labor by sex which most children observe in their homes.⁵⁵

Withholding craft classes from girls not only prevents them from learn-

ing specific skills but, more generally, implies that girls cannot and should not even try to learn these skills. It is little wonder, then, that in later years these girls cannot fix a broken chair, set a furnace pilot light, or repair a child's toy. Such tasks must await the return of the child's father, the family handyman, in the evening.⁵⁶

The assignment of personnel is another aspect of the school which perpetuates stereotypes about women. Although the majority of teachers are female, most principals are men. This reflects the situation at home, where the child's immediate superior throughout the day is a woman. What are the consequences of male authority in a predominantly female school? Aside from the fact that decision-making power is held by a man—and thus the school may reflect male perspectives—the school suggests to girls that supervising children is a possible future job for them, but managing adults or holding real power is "man's work."

Secondary Education

An important change occurs in pupils' attitudes as they move up through junior and senior high school. In the early grades of elementary school the atmosphere is very feminine. The teachers are women and they stress being "good." Girls are oriented toward pleasing people, and particularly the teacher, so they work hard to behave and to get good grades. But little boys find this incongruous with their sex role; they are not oriented toward pleasing others—they are oriented toward being independent, aggressive, and full of activity. Although their female teacher wants them to be well behaved boys who mind her, this is not a male role but a female role. In such an environment girls do better than boys.⁵⁷

Then, as they approach high school, boys become quite career oriented. Part of their sex role now involves preparing for a vocation, and so their motivation to do well in school becomes much greater than that of the girls. The girls, on the other hand, are becoming confused about competing with boys because that is not part of the traditional female role, and so they begin to fall behind the boys.⁵⁸

Subject areas become sex linked. Science and mathematics are considered to be "male" subjects, and therefore boys are more motivated to succeed in them. For girls, however, success in these "male" courses—or in academic work generally—would raise doubts about their femininity. This predicament would be very threatening because they have been taught that their basic purpose in life—perhaps their only purpose—is finding a mate and raising a family. Because of such stereotypes many girls in high school do not perform as well as they could.⁵⁹

TEXTBOOKS

As in elementary schools, textbooks used in secondary schools still demean women or ignore them. The books either are written by men or the main characters are men. For instance, Macmillan's *Representative Men* *Heroes of Our Time* is a text intended for both sexes. It includes three dozen men but only two women—actress Elizabeth Taylor and socialite Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. These two women, however accomplished and worthwhile they may be, hardly indicate the range of abilities actually possessed by women. In contrast, the men's biographies, which fill most of the book, do cover a wide occupational, racial, and intellectual spectrum.⁶⁰

Literary anthologies offer selections by male authors like Stephen Crane or Henry James rather than female writers such as Kate Chopin or Edith Wharton. Students are assigned James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as A Young Man* but not Doris Lessing's *Martha Quest*, and the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* but not Anne Moody's *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.⁶¹

History books also neglect women. According to thirteen popular texts studied by Janice Trecker, the history and contributions of women in America can be summarized in the following brief paragraph:

Women arrived in 1619 (a curious choice if meant to be their first acquaintance with the New World). They held the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Rights in 1848. During the rest of the nineteenth century, they participated in reform movements, chiefly temperance, and were exploited in factories. In 1920, they were given the vote. They joined the armed forces for the first time during the Second World War and thereafter have enjoyed the good life in America. Add the names of the women who are invariably mentioned: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, and Frances Perkins, with perhaps Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. [and you have the story].⁶²

These textbooks do not discuss women's attempts to organize or join labor unions, their struggle to get into higher education, or the many facets of the century long struggle of women to achieve constitutional guarantees of voting. Instead, women in these texts are depicted as "passive, incapable of sustained organization or work, satisfied with [their] role in society and well supplied with material blessings." Even when discussing feminist activities, history texts usually quote male spokesmen rather than female spokesmen, ignoring articulate women leaders like Sojourner Truth or Charlotte Gilman.⁶³

Science texts are no better. Examination of high school science textbooks published since 1966 and used in the Baltimore public schools

gives further indication why girls lose whatever interest in science and mathematics they might have had when they were younger. These books are profusely illustrated but there are only four pictures of women in the six books a woman scientist, a woman laboratory assistant, a woman doctor, and Rachel Carson.⁶⁴

Since women do not have complete control over their destinies but will, to some degree, be affected by the actions of men, the attitudes of men will be important. Boys' books often convey unfavorable images of women. Among other things, these books tell young men that women are not very important. For instance, some stories by Mark Twain and Robert Louis Stevenson do not mention females. The same is true of such contemporary books as the Field Educational Checkered Flag series, adopted by California, the largest state school system in the nation. When females do appear in books for adolescents, the girls and women are not like those the men will meet in real life.⁶⁵

In general, the girls accompanying these teenage boys are inadequately fleshed out, tiddy, paper thin, made of the stuff of angels, gentle, feminine, fairly quiet, doomed to be unreal. Good old Mom, on the other hand, often is depicted as 'an insipid lady who flutters around chronically worrying and manely commenting'.⁶⁶

An analysis of novels popular with boys revealed two things first, sweeping, often contradictory incidental remarks about girls and women, second, mothers and girl friends are unrealized and unpleasant, idealized, one dimensional, insipid, or bitchy. Sexually neutral characters, such as old ladies or little sisters, are usually likable and well delineated.⁶⁷

In a text for junior high students (*The Roberts English Series, Book 8*) girls and women do these things

Count votes for males who were nominated,
 Accompany men to the hunt,
 Find their beauty is short lived,
 Sit with their fans in their hands and gold combs in their hair,
 Put cream on their faces and 'lie in bed staring at the ceiling and wishing
 they had some decent jewelry to wear at the "Ball",
 Poison their husbands,
 Die because they never knew those simple little rules ",
 Get eaten up by alligators,
 Cut and gather grain and sing to no one,
 Listen to men give speeches,
 Rear children,
 Do silly, ridiculous things (James Thurber), and
 Ride with the Devil".

Even in a few books which present some fairly good images of women, negative statements like the following may outweigh the positive ones

'Remember — she's a female, and full of tricks"

'Women have forgotten how to be women, but they haven't yet learned how to be men. They've turned into harpies, and their men into zombies God, it's pitiful!"

"I'm a witch I was being nasty Girls just do those things, I guess"

A boy says that Polly "began to think she should run the show That's where I had to straighten her out And after I got her straightened out she seemed happier"⁶⁹

ATTITUDES

A similarly gloomy picture emerges when we examine the attitudes of teachers and other personnel in junior and senior high schools. The following testimony was collected from girls in New York City schools

Well, within my physics class last year, our teacher asked if there was anybody interested in being a lab assistant in the physics lab, and when I raised my hand, he told all the girls to put their hands down because he was only interested in working with boys

There is an Honor Guard students who instead of participating in gym for the term, are monitors in the hall and I asked my gym teacher if I could be on the Honor Guard Squad She said it was only open to boys I then went to the head of the Honor Guard who said that he thought girls were much too nasty to be Honor Guards He thought they would be too mean in working on the job, and I left it at that⁷⁰

Another girl was not permitted to take metalworking or mechanics, so she sued the school In court her mother testified that a school official said there was no freedom of choice in selecting classes The mother continued

I also asked her whose decision this was, that there was no freedom of choice And she told me it was the decision of the board of education I didn't ask her anything else because she clearly showed me that it was against the school policy for girls to be in the class She said it was a board of education decision

Question Did she use that phrase, no freedom of choice?

Answer Exactly that phrase — no freedom of choice That is what made me so angry that I wanted to start this whole thing⁷¹

Even after the lawsuit was filed the school refused to allow the girl to take the class She "had to fight about it for quite a while" When she finally was permitted to take the course she was the only girl in it⁷²

Unfortunately such channeling is not limited to one district, it is nationwide. In Richmond, California, for example, a high school industrial arts instructor reported that capable, interested girls were not allowed to take his class because spaces in it were being reserved for boys who would not fit anywhere else.⁷³

Girls' loss of interest in supposedly masculine subjects is reflected in statistics on enrollment. In low level science and mathematics courses the ratio of boys and girls is about equal, but more advanced classes have a higher percentage of boys. Thus there are slightly more girls than boys taking biology, but in physics boys outnumber girls three to one. In mathematics the pattern is similar: 48 percent of the enrollment in elementary algebra is female, dropping to 42 percent in intermediate and advanced algebra. In solid geometry and trigonometry only a third of the students are girls.⁷⁴

The situation might be different if the faculty encouraged girls to take supposedly masculine courses and to prepare for eventual careers in these fields. Instead, teachers and counselors steer girls down the narrow, traditional path leading to marriage and motherhood, without considering the many years that will remain after the children enter school and leave the mother with time on her hands.

Both teachers and guidance counselors in high schools are more apt than not to encourage different career aspirations for girls than for boys. They also encourage girls to keep their aspirations at lower levels and even to avoid the kinds of preparation that would lead them into the sciences, engineering, and such.⁷⁵

Higher Education

The same patterns discussed previously continue in college. Textbooks and teachers convey traditional beliefs about women, in a manner which is, by now, all too familiar. Therefore, this section will focus upon the structure of higher education. This structure combined with women's lack of confidence and lack of clear vocational goals other than marriage, ensures that many women will find college difficult and unrewarding. This is a problem for young women who go directly from high school through four years of college, and it is even more likely to hinder women who delay their entry into college or resume college courses after an absence.

American colleges and universities were originally established solely for men.⁷⁶ Women had little opportunity for higher education until about a hundred and fifty years ago. Oberlin admitted women in 1837, and around that time various female seminaries started to offer women

at least a junior college education. In fact, women had to rely heavily upon women's colleges for higher education. In 1870, six out of ten college women were either in normal schools (for training teachers) or private four-year women's colleges. It is doubtful that many women preferred these segregated institutions, but for a long time they had few alternatives. By 1900 about 70 percent of American colleges and universities admitted women, and today the vast majority of women attend coeducational institutions.⁷⁷ However, the male oriented structure is still evident, most notably in the timing or pacing of higher education.⁷⁸

It is assumed that the years between eighteen and twenty-five will be devoted to continuous full time study. This method works well for men but not for women, who are likely to interrupt their education for marriage and raising a family. The average age at which the American woman marries is twenty, her last child is born when she is twenty-six and enters the first grade when she is thirty two. Only then is she really free to consider resuming her education, interrupted twelve years earlier.⁷⁹ Yet she is likely to receive an unenthusiastic reception from the college.

Procedural custom seldom allows the free flow of students in and out of colleges and universities at times of individual, rather than institutional, choice. Educational record-keeping, methods of student evaluation, entrance procedures, all are predicated on the masculine habit of uninterrupted progress from kindergarten to the highest professional degree—with a year or two out to earn money, serve in the armed forces or with VISTA, perhaps, but never with fifteen years out to raise a family.⁸⁰

First, there are admission requirements. The prospective student may be required to get letters of recommendation from *recent* teachers.⁸¹ This will not be easy if a woman has been out of school for ten or fifteen years. Even if the "recent" part of it is waived, it will still be difficult to find one's teachers from a decade or two back; many will have moved, retired, or died, and even if they could be easily located, their recollections of a former student will be dimmed after so many years.

Another obstacle to admission is the entrance examination. These are based on the assumption that the applicant has recently studied a specific set of facts. Consequently, these examinations are much more difficult for the middle aged person than for the person fresh out of high school. Even college presidents have admitted that they could not get into their own institutions if they had to present their high school transcripts and pass the tests given to incoming freshmen.⁸²

interesting companions for their husbands This lack of definite objectives means that many women drift through their college years without strong commitment to any field or possible career, despite the fact that nine out of ten women will be employed at some time in their lives—not just in volunteer or part time work but mostly in full time, paying jobs⁸⁶

Bureaucratic pressures for full time study also impede many students, and here again women are vulnerable Many women prefer—or have time—to take only one or two courses a semester, but universities often discourage part time attendance and require special permission to take less than a full load, suspecting part time students of lacking seriousness or commitment or else they schedule important courses only during certain inconvenient hours A group of student wives found that evening hours were the best suited for class attendance Late afternoons (after four o'clock) and Saturday classes were also mentioned as times they could attend⁸⁷ Part time students are discouraged by being charged the same tuition as full time students For example one woman said

I feel the cost for enrolling for one unit is very unreasonable Why should I pay many times more for a degree taken one unit at a time than do students who attend full time? I feel a survey would show that I use campus facilities much less per unit credit than do full time students yet, I must pay so very much more⁸⁸

Other problems hindering women in college are suggested by the following comments

Why not classes which meet once a week for three hours? This would eliminate so much time being spent going back and forth to campus and alleviate the parking and transportation problem

There should be less prejudice about undergraduate scholarships for married women

I would think the biggest help would be to have a central babysitter A place where we could take the children and leave them while attending class or studying at the library⁸⁹

These comments were gathered during a study of women interested in obtaining a college degree Summarizing their problems the study observed that women wanted more evening classes a wider variety of televised and correspondence classes more courses meeting once or twice a week for several hours instead of three or four times a week for one hour at a time, lower tuition and fees for part time students more flexible library reserve systems low cost day care facilities for their children counseling for a wide range of problems and plans scholarships and jobs

for married women, and recognition of nonattending student wives as part of the university community⁹⁰

Finally, lack of self-confidence is a common problem for women. The large size of many colleges today, with their resulting impersonality, does little to bolster one's self-assurance. It is easy to feel lost among thousands of other students, even if you fit the types for which higher education was designed—young, middle class males fresh from high school who are interested in a traditional career, or, secondarily, sweet young coeds who dabble in philosophy and English literature and date for a few years before marrying and leaving school forever.

Although these descriptions no longer are appropriate for thousands of students who have attended college since World War II, the image persists, and the more students deviate from it, the more uneasy and out of place they are apt to feel. After a woman has been out of school for several years she may be very hesitant to enroll in college, as the following comments indicate:

I have thought of going to college but after being away for eight years from studying, I doubt very much if I could get back into the swing of things—especially when a large university such as this is involved.

Between now and then [the time of returning to continue education] I need to find courage.

Most young wives are fearful to either return or begin courses at the university level. Many have been out several years and feel their time would be too limited for the family as well as course work. Fearful of low grades, many girls with capability hesitate to enroll.⁹¹

Even those women who do muster enough courage to continue their education are apt to feel unsure of themselves. This lack of confidence is true of women who were out of school for only a couple of years, and anxiety is more intense for those who return after an absence of ten or twenty years. Acknowledging such problems, some colleges have established programs in continuing education for women. Another recent addition to the curriculum has been Women's Studies, for all women, young and old, at any stage of their college education.

lame, and the women is echoed in comments made to women by graduate school faculties throughout the nation.

Somehow I can never take women in this field seriously

Why don't you find a rich husband and give all this up?

How old are you anyway? Do you think that a girl like you could handle a job like this? You don't look like the academic type

We expect women who come here to be competent, good students, but we don't expect them to be brilliant or original

Women are intrinsically inferior

[To a young widow who had a five year-old child and who needed a fellowship to continue at graduate school] You're very attractive You'll get married again We have to give fellowships to people who really need them

I know you're competent and your thesis adviser knows you're competent The question in our minds is are you *really serious* about what you're doing

A pretty girl like you will certainly get married why don't you stop with an M A?

Any woman who has got this far has got to be a kook There are already too many women in this Department

You're so cute I can't see you as a professor of anything⁹²

Such remarks, ranging from well-intended advice to blatant hostility, suggest that many women are not given a fair chance to demonstrate their ability in graduate school Faculty committees screen applicants for graduate school to decide which ones to accept from all those who apply Generally, women must be better qualified than men

Our general admission policy has been, if the body is warm and male, take it, if it's female, make sure it's an A- from Bryn Mawr⁹³

Even after being admitted to graduate study, women are less likely than men to be encouraged to continue Women students are repeatedly asked, "Are you really serious?" (They are asked this question even after they have finished the Ph D) This constant disbelief does little to help, and actually undermines the determination of women students,⁹⁴ making them more anxious, less secure, than men students Anxiety reduces their effectiveness and stifles the pleasure many women initially felt for the subjects they were studying

Money is another form of encouragement, women graduate students receive less than men 49 percent of male graduate students but only 37 percent of females receive some financial stipend from the university,

in the form of student grants, or jobs as teaching assistants or research assistants.⁹⁵

The consequences of these pressures are indicated by the following statistics, which show that the higher we look in academe, the fewer women there are. In 1971, 43 percent of the graduating seniors were women. At the next highest level, the master's degrees, 40 percent of the degrees went to women. Only 14 percent of the doctorates (Ph.D., Ed.D., etc.) were awarded to women, and only 6 percent of the professional degrees (M.D., D.D.S., etc.)⁹⁶

The same pattern occurs even within traditionally female fields: education, English, art, foreign languages, health, home economics, and library science. In each of these fields a majority of the bachelor's degrees were earned by women, but a smaller percentage of women got the master's degree and a still smaller proportion received a doctor's degree. In fact, in six of these seven fields women ended up getting only a third—or less—of the highest degrees. In education, for example, women received 75 percent of the baccalaureate degrees, 56 percent of the master's degrees, and only 21 percent of the doctorates. Only in home economics did women earn more doctor's degrees than men, but even in this strongly "feminine" field the proportion of women receiving degrees dropped 36 percent from the baccalaureate to the doctoral level.⁹⁷

Two points emerge from these statistics. First, women are not "safe" from competition and discrimination even in traditionally female fields. Men get more than their share of the higher degrees; in fact, they get most of the doctor's degrees.

Second, men will be more likely to get the best jobs—even in feminine fields—because they have the most prestigious degrees.

Table 1 Degrees Earned by Women 1970-1971 (Percentage of all degrees awarded in the U.S., by field)

	Bachelor's Degrees	Master's Degrees	Doctor's Degrees
Education	75%	56%	21%
English	67	62	30
Fine and Applied Arts	60	48	22
Foreign Languages	75	65	38
Health Professions	77	55	17
Home Economics	97	94	61
Library Science	92	81	28

Computed from U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1972*, Table 114, pp. 99-101.

Conclusion

Improvement in women's education will not be simple. We cannot assume that things will automatically get better with the passage of time, they may stay the same, or they may even get worse. For example, the percentage of women graduating from professional schools in medicine and dentistry has been very low, and has not increased during the past two decades. In fact, the proportion of women M.D.'s has actually diminished, from 10 percent in 1950 to 9 percent in 1971. Less than 1 percent of the graduating dentists in 1950 were women, and it was the same twenty years later. Only 7 percent of the law students graduating in 1971 were women, and only 2 percent of the optometrists, osteopaths, and theologians.⁹⁸

The problem is not a new one. An inadequate image of women has existed for a long, long time. Early English literature, for instance, portrayed women (or ignored them) in much the same way as textbooks today.

If we were to judge by Old English literature alone, we would conclude that only queens, princesses, abbesses, a few wives, and a scattering of mistresses comprised the female population of England at that time.⁹⁹

Even in our own era, the image of women has become less favorable. Textbooks written early in this century presented a much more positive picture of women and girls than do textbooks written after 1930.¹⁰⁰

While much antifemale bias is unintentional, some is not. For instance, an instructor in a course on 'Writing for Children' advised

The wise author writes about boys, thereby insuring himself a maximum audience, since only girls will read a book about a girl, but both boys and girls will read about a boy.¹⁰¹

The award winning book "Island of the Blue Dolphins" was initially rejected by a publisher who wanted the heroine changed to a boy.¹⁰²

Unfavorable images of women, whether deliberate or not, do serve some purposes, and this fact may explain in part why they persist. Women are useful servants, performing routine, dull, but necessary, tasks which men do not want to be bothered with: cooking, washing, cleaning the house, supervising children, typing, answering the telephone, and so forth. In performing these routine chores women give men the time needed for success in business or the professions. Behind many high ranking executives and famous professors is a hard working wife or secretary whose days are full of drudgery. Women, then, are a source of cheap labor, at home and at work, and stereotypes emphasizing their lack of ability discourage them from seeking better jobs or demanding higher pay.

Stereotypes also help to limit competition, deterring women from entering occupations which are already overcrowded. Moreover, some men fear that the image of their occupation might suffer if women—viewed by the public as being intellectually inferior to men—were permitted to enter their occupation. Finally, women in their present inferior status may bolster male feelings of superiority. Some people gain reassurance from looking down on others. It may strengthen an insecure man's self confidence to feel that women are weaker and dumber than he is.

Although eliminating discrimination against women will not be easy, schools and colleges can take steps to improve the situation.

First, simply discussing the problem will help, alerting parents and teachers to an issue that many of them were unaware of before. If teachers analyzed the textbooks they use, it could be an enlightening experience.

Second, reorganization and reassignment of personnel would provide a wider variety of role models for girls to emulate. More women could be placed in high administrative positions and more men could be persuaded to teach in lower grades.

Third, boys and girls could take more classes together. Girls would be allowed—or required—to take crafts, woodwork, and auto repair, and boys could take sewing, cooking, and child care.

Fourth, low cost or free child care centers would free many mothers to pursue their education at a faster rate than they can now. These centers could be operated under the auspices of a college or university, and part of the supervision could be handled by students gaining actual fieldwork experience under the guidance of a trained, seasoned director.

Fifth, greater flexibility in the organization and procedures of higher education might include such areas as transfer of credits, reduced costs for part-time students, evening and Saturday classes, television and correspondence courses, and later library hours.

Sixth, courses in Women's Studies, in secondary schools and college, would help young women to recognize the problems that they are likely to encounter. Awareness of their situation would assist them in making better choices, now as well as later.

Similarly, an enlightened counseling program, starting in junior high and continuing through college, could alert otherwise unsuspecting girls to the pitfalls of thinking only about marriage and motherhood, without also planning ahead for the time when their children will be grown. Women who already are thinking of a career could be given more detailed information about job possibilities and preparation. Women who resume their interrupted schooling could be guided through the maze of regulations and requirements characteristic of higher education.

Women are not the only ones who would benefit from such improvements. Men, too, have much to gain. We are at an unprecedented period in history when technological developments have decreased the need for unskilled human labor, yet other problems still confront us, problems which will require all the brain power, all the skill we can get. Educating women to make better use of their potentialities could vastly increase our chances of solving these problems and would alleviate the tensions generated — at home and in the office — by the existence of this vast, underprivileged group.

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- Westervelt, Esther Manning, and Deborah A. Fixter, with the assistance of Margaret Comstock *Women's Higher and Continuing Education An Annotated Bibliography with selected References on Related Aspects of Women's Lives* Publications Order Office, College Entrance Examina-

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Women on Campus 1970, A Symposium The University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, October 1970 These reports are on a variety of topics which include psychological aspects of women students, specific problems of women graduate students, and the university's inadequate provisions for educating women

While the movement has now subsided, it probably could be reactivated by renewed U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia or elsewhere.

The purpose of this chapter is to give a broad overview of student political activism. We shall address some of the major issues involving student activism that were discussed and debated throughout the sixties. What are the conditions that led to the development of the New Left movement in the 1960s? What are some of the major types of political consciousness among student activists, and what were the important changes in types of political consciousness among U.S. students over time? Did an attachment to radical ideologies characterize activists of the late sixties in contrast to an earlier attachment to reformist ideologies? Why was there a change in types of political consciousness among activists? We shall also spell out some of the major theories of why students engaged in activism in the sixties, and we shall try to test the theories empirically with data collected at the University of California at Berkeley in 1968.

Finally, we will examine the effects and directions of the student movement. We shall address the issue of the decline of the movement by 1973, and we shall suggest some conditions under which the movement could again be revived.

Student political activism is defined as the engagement by students in noninstitutionalized forms of political activity. The various illegal protests that occurred throughout the sixties would all be included in this definition of student activism. In many demonstrations against the Vietnam war, as well as in demonstrations supporting civil rights, free speech, and student power, students engaged in noninstitutionalized forms of political activity such as sit-ins and strikes. In all of our discussions student political activism is the phenomenon we want to explain. We shall now examine each of the specific issues mentioned in relation to student political activism.

Development of Student Activism in the United States

INCREASING INCIDENCE OF PROTEST

There is convincing evidence that the New Left grew considerably in the space of a decade. Prior to the Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964, there was not much protest on U.S. campuses other than Berkeley. The Berkeley campus was unique in having student political protests on campus even in the late 1950s. Although some students participated in off-campus civil rights demonstrations from 1960 on, it was not until the Free Speech Movement that the New Left began to have increasingly wide support among students.

As early as 1964-1965, Peterson reports protests over various issues

at many colleges in the wake of the Free Speech Movement.² In 1966 the University of California at Berkeley was the scene of a student strike in protest over the university permitting the Navy to recruit on campus, this action was, of course, part of the more general protest over the Vietnam war. However, this particular protest focused national attention on the relationship of the university to various "establishment" institutions such as the military. As Skolnick points out, within a month after the strike at Berkeley, there were many other similar protests throughout the country involving military, CIA, and Dow Chemical recruiters.³

By 1967-1968, Peterson states that approximately 10 percent of the national student population was 'capable of temporary activation depending on the issues'.⁴ My own data on student activism at the University of California at Berkeley, covering the period of 1964-1968, indicate that between 15 percent and 25 percent of the student body took part in major demonstrations, depending on the issue (however the overall trend at the Berkeley campus itself is rather complex and is discussed elsewhere).⁵

By 1969, 292 major student protests occurred on 232 college and university campuses in the first six months of that year.⁶ A 1969 study of disciplinary measures on twenty eight campuses showed that more than nine hundred students had been expelled or suspended, and more than eight hundred and fifty were reprimanded.⁷ The late FBI director J Edgar Hoover reported that protests resulted in over 4,000 arrests during the 1968-1969 academic year, and about 7,200 arrests during 1969-1970.⁸

The political protest movement reached its peak with the widespread protests over the US invasion of Cambodia in 1970. About 20 percent of the nation's colleges were on strike over Cambodia, and the Urban Research Corporation reported that nearly one third had some kind of protest.⁹ The Student Strike Information Center at Brandeis University reported that 440 four year colleges were on strike at least temporarily, and 286 colleges were on strike indefinitely over Cambodia.¹⁰ Close to 80 percent of the nation's most selective schools had some kind of protest, and 9 percent of these schools even had violent demonstrations over Cambodia.¹¹ Drawing on survey data, Lipset estimates that almost half (49 percent) of the US student population engaged in some kind of protest in relation to the invasion of Cambodia.¹²

In sum, there was a rather steady increase of student protest throughout the 1960s and into the early part of the 1970s. In the late 1950s the New Left was only in its infancy, but a decade later there was widespread student protest over major government activities. Lipset presents some longitudinal data that underscore this increasing tendency toward involvement in protests. For example, he shows that

the percentage of schools that reported incidents of activism at four time periods between 1967 and 1970 increased from 61 percent to 108 percent to 140 percent to 324 percent.¹³ Perhaps even more spectacular is the increase in proportion of students involved in the protest movement over time. Using data from the Harris Survey, Lipset shows that from 1965 to 1969 to 1970 the proportion of students who were involved in some kind of demonstration increased from 29 percent to 40 percent to a surprising 60 percent of the U.S. student population.¹⁴ These figures mean that by 1970 well over half the U.S. student population had participated in at least some type of political protest. Of course, not all student protesters engaged in illegal activities. Especially during the Cambodian invasion, many people engaged in milder forms of protest than were witnessed in prior demonstrations. Also, as I noted, the campuses became a good deal quieter by 1973, and I shall try to explain the reduction of activism later in this chapter. But it should be clear that the New Left movement did attract a wide variety of students before it began to wane.

FACTORS INFLUENCING PROTEST

Having documented the actual growth of the New Left movement, we can now ask what are some of the historical circumstances that led to the origin and development of the student protest movement in the United States? To answer this question it is necessary to go back to the 1950s. If student protests characterized the 1960s, then apathy characterized the previous decade. Students of the 1950s were called the "silent generation" because they did not criticize society in any fundamental sense and they did not engage in militant protests against existing arrangements. Feuer notes that the 1950s were marked by "generational equilibrium"—i.e., there were no student challenges to existing authority, especially in relation to political economic issues such as the worth of American capitalism.¹⁵ A study by Goldsen, et al., found that American college students in the 1950s espoused a very conventional set of values. For example, the three most endorsed educational values were learning vocational skills, developing interpersonal skills, and attaining a general education.¹⁶ There was hardly a hint that students wanted anything like a "politically relevant" education, one that could be used to challenge existing arrangements. However, Goldsen and her colleagues included one ominous footnote: they wondered if a 51 hour hunger strike against compulsory ROTC at Berkeley in 1959 indicated a change away from student political apathy!¹⁷ But, other than this example, their data suggested no widespread social political criticisms by the college students of the 1950s.

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT If, however, the campuses were "silent," other parts of the country were not, especially in the South The 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated schools (which, incidentally, relied in part on social science findings about the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination on Negroes) set off a chain of political events that are still felt today A year later in 1955 Dr Martin Luther King, Jr., led the famous Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott — and the civil rights movement was under way¹⁸ Undoubtedly students — mainly black students — took part in King's Montgomery boycott and in later civil rights protests throughout that decade But in the 1950s the civil rights movement was identified with King, who was an adult It was not until 1960 that students entered the political limelight as activists

The New Student Left actually began when Negro students sat in at segregated lunch counters at Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960 Within a short time, white students joined the civil rights movement Many came from the North and joined such organizations as SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) and CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) The New Left is usually associated with white student radicals, but the first students to make a national reputation for protests were the Negro college students at Greensboro

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT In fact, one could argue that the "white" branch of the New Left did not emerge as an independent force until the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in 1964, four years after the Greensboro sit in Although the Free Speech Movement developed because of the university administration's refusal to permit solicitation of civil rights funds on the Berkeley campus, the civil rights issue soon drifted to the background This time white students were fighting for their own rights and privileges, not for those of another group Until then, students throughout the nation had fought primarily for Negro justice On the other hand, the Berkeley campus had experienced conflicts since the late 1950s over issues other than civil rights¹⁹ Some of these other issues were peace, capital punishment, and free speech In addition, the SDS Port Huron Statement of 1962 suggested guidelines for a new "left" style of thought and action But, as far as the nation as a whole was concerned, it was not until the Free Speech Movement that white students became a political force differentiated from the civil rights movement Then they undertook many political activities on their own home ground, the campus

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After the Free Speech Movement, there was a rash of student political activities, both white and Third World, throughout the country. At Berkeley alone there were such incidents as the anti Vietnam war march to the Oakland Army Terminal in 1965, the formation of the Vietnam

Day Committee, the 1966 student strike over Navy recruiters, unauthorized "teach-ins" over Vietnam, the 1967 Oakland Induction Center demonstrations, the Third World strike in 1968-1969, the People's Park protests in 1969, the protests, strike, and subsequent restructuring of the university over the Cambodian invasion in 1970, and the short-lived protests over Laos in 1971 and North Vietnam in 1972. These are only some of the more highly publicized instances of student activism at Berkeley, there were many other events related to Vietnam, civil rights, student power, and rights of university employees.

EARLY STUDENT PROTEST

Lest it seem that U.S. students did not demonstrate until the 1960s, we should realize that there were previous student protests in U.S. history. Feuer documents many of these, going back almost to the founding of the country. However, many of these protests were "bread and butter rebellions", that is, complaints over food served at school. More serious were the occasional religious rebellions that occurred at universities such as Princeton in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as the nineteenth century revolts on some campuses against the policy of *in loco parentis*. But, as Feuer says, "the pre-Civil War rebellions never involved any social-ideological factor," and the rebellions after the Civil War, until the 1930s, were not characterized by a "basic alienation from a de-authorized elder generation."²⁰

The closest thing to the student activity of today was the radical student activism in the 1930s, especially at New York colleges such as City College of New York. In addition to the economic hardships of the depression, students were concerned with the rise of fascism and anti-semitism. As a result, the student movement of the thirties in New York was Marxist-oriented, and engaged in such familiar sounding activities as the antiwar protests which disrupted Charter Day ceremonies at City College.²¹ But, other than the 1930s in New York, the 1960s were unique in that students developed a radical critique of the entire social system.²²

Types and Changes of Political Consciousness

The discussion up to now has referred to two types of left wing political consciousness among U.S. students at various points in history: radical political consciousness, which focuses on fundamental changes of the social system in order to increase freedom and equality for submerged groups, and reformist political consciousness, which similarly focuses on increasing freedom and equality for submerged groups, but wants to

achieve them by making changes *within* the existing social system. Furthermore, we have discussed the *absence* of political consciousness among US students. In this section we shall introduce another type of political consciousness combining aspects of the first two. This is called radical-reformist political consciousness, it combines a radical critique of the larger social system with a critique of the university.

These types of political consciousness, and the absence of political consciousness, have varied in their appearance on the American college scene among the generations, as well as within generations. The "silent generation" of the 1950s connoted the conservatism and absence of political controversies in general, as Goldsen, et al observed:

The investigator attempting to describe the political flavor of contemporary [i.e., 1950s] American campuses is immediately and forcefully struck by two themes. The first is what seems to be a remarkable absence of any intense or consuming political beliefs, interests, or convictions on the part of the college students. The second is extreme political and economic conservatism. Both are in marked contrast to the radicalism usually attributed to American college students in the thirties, and said to be a traditional aspect of student culture in other countries.²³

On the other hand the 1930s, at least in New York, were characterized by radical political consciousness in part of the student population. And in the 1960s a number of students were radical as well as reformist. The question that arises is how to account for the changes in political consciousness from generation to generation, as well as within any given generation?

The explanations used to account for changes in political consciousness between and within entire generations will be only partial explanations here. Also they are partly based on conjecture, along with an examination of evidence and arguments presented elsewhere. I shall try to suggest some reasons why there was a rise of radical consciousness in the 1930s, a decline of this consciousness in the 1940s and 1950s, a rise of reformist consciousness in the early 1960s, and a development of both radical and radical reformist consciousness in the latter part of the 1960s. The bulk of this discussion will relate to the 1960s.

DEPRESSION AND FASCISM

As previously mentioned, the economic hardships of the depression in the 1930s, along with the threat of fascism and antisemitism here and abroad, were some of the larger conditions conducive to the development of radical, often Marxist, political consciousness. Capitalism was doing anything but well in the 1930s and various socialist and communist alternatives were being suggested. Students in New York, and some

elsewhere, were attracted to the sweeping solutions that Marxist theories offered for national and international problems. This leftist tendency among various Depression Era students lasted until the United States entered World War II in 1941.

A TEMPORARY ALLIANCE

The war forced all antifascist groups into an alignment against international fascism. The groups with a stake in stopping Hitler and his allies included Roosevelt's reform capitalism as well as the Communist Party in the United States. Thus, the communist opposition in the United States all but disappeared at the beginning of World War II, and this trend continued during the war. Dwight Macdonald in *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* describes the self-liquidation of the American Communist Party when Stalin and Roosevelt allied during the war:

For a long time the CP [i.e., the American Communist Party] has been a branch office of the parent firm in Moscow rather than an American political party. When Stalin and Roosevelt, therefore, come to an agreement on postwar policies as broad as that apparently reached at Teheran, there is no longer any point for the American branch office to keep up even the formality of political opposition to Roosevelt and the social system he represents. As far as the Communists are concerned, there is nothing more left to struggle for.²⁴

And the day after they liquidated themselves "the Communists announced their decision to fight inside the two party system for such goals as 'a total removal of all anti labor laws,'" and accepted Roosevelt as their leader.²⁵

After the war ended in 1945 this alliance between the communist and capitalist worlds collapsed. As a result, renewed left wing opposition to American capitalism appeared within the United States.²⁶ Communists attempted to make inroads into potentially radical organizations such as the trade unions.²⁷ However, a period of right wing reaction, highlighted by McCarthyism, was about to begin.

RIGHT-WING REACTION

At the start of the 1950s, the following events were on the minds of the people of the United States: the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and the rise of communism in China, the investigation of former State Department official Alger Hiss by the House Un-American Activities Committee for being a member of the Communist Party in the 1930s (Hiss went to jail for perjury, and Nixon, who was involved in the hearings, became Vice President and later President), and Russia's explosion of an atomic bomb, which ended the U.S. monopoly of the weapon.²⁸ All of these

events meant one thing U.S. capitalism was going to be strongly challenged by communism, or so many Americans thought. Thus, the stage was set for the arrival of Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy, who, for several years, made the headlines with his sensational search for subversives.²⁹

The story of McCarthy and McCarthyism is complex, and this is not the place to cover it in any detail. Suffice it to say that a combination of McCarthyism, the rise of international communism as a world force, the beginning of the Korean War, and related occurrences all pushed the country into a period of political reaction. In fact, many of the political controversies raised in the early 1950s were of a reactionary nature, again most forcefully represented by McCarthy. But by 1954, McCarthy's influence was waning, and he died shortly thereafter.³⁰

Then the country settled into a conservative mood under Eisenhower, and controversies over the value of the American social system were greatly minimized. It could be said that there was a dearth of social criticism, especially radical criticism. People were tired of war as well as of McCarthyism. The term of office for Eisenhower and Nixon lasted from the early 1950s to 1960. The trend of the Eisenhower years was summarized by Daniel Bell's term, "the end of ideology," referring to "the exhaustion of political [i.e., radical political] ideas in the fifties."³¹

NEW HOPE

THE NEW FRONTIER For many people the election of Kennedy in 1960 ushered in the hope of a "New Frontier." This was especially the case among segments of American youth, for whom Kennedy symbolized the possibility of meaningful change both in the United States and abroad. His election was interpreted as a repudiation of the conservative tone set by Eisenhower. During his campaign Kennedy listed a series of wrongs that needed to be remedied: poverty, medical care for elderly people, difficulties of underdeveloped countries, and so forth. And we recall that the Supreme Court had in 1954 already challenged the undemocratic, segregationist character of the South and declared it to be illegal and unconstitutional. Finally, the economy was in reasonably good shape — especially in contrast to previous periods of recession or depression — and the country could afford to make some reforms. Thus the stage was set for the rise of reformist political consciousness.

AN ACTIVIST'S VIEW We shall examine the views (and changes of views) of one former activist, David Horowitz, as representative of the views of many activists of the sixties.

As he observed in his book, *Student*,³² the issues that interested student activists in the early 1960s were related to a central concern how to make the United States live up to its democratic ideals. Civil rights, freedom of speech and assembly, increased voting rights for Negroes, ending segregated facilities, and integration of minorities into the larger American society—all involved improving American democracy so that it would "be more in consonance with the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution."³³ These demands were hardly radical in nature, and each could be met within the framework of a truly democratic society.

In fact, Horowitz, at least in 1962, emphasized that radical solutions were not necessary to obtain these democratic ideals, that is, he rejected the idea that it is necessary to be affiliated with the Communist Party in order to attain these goals, and he was suspicious of the more general idea of "Marxist solutions" to these problems, observing that Communists were contemptuous of free speech and a free press.³⁴ He stated that leftist students believed "intervention in Hungary is as insupportable as intervention in Cuba."³⁵ Thus, Horowitz clearly rejected the authoritarian aspects of communist parties and did not associate himself or the student movement at Berkeley in the early 1960s with any communist parties, especially in Russia.

But he went one more step beyond rejecting the communist party. He equated the communist party with Marxism, which he also rejected. He felt that Berkeley students were critical of "Marxist solutions" to problems such as "unemployment, social inequality, juvenile delinquency, inadequate school and housing construction."³⁶ Although Marxists claim that these social problems are basically economic in nature, students reject the "doctrine that the only real problem in securing social justice is that of altering the economic sub structure of society."³⁷ And students reject such "Marxist solutions" because of antiliberal trends in the Soviet Union.³⁸

According to Horowitz, the younger generation insists that certain questions be satisfactorily answered 'before it will join any group seeking social change through the restructuring of the economic organization of society'.³⁹ The questions include guarantees for civil liberties, the decentralization of economic and political power, the new basis on which goods are "to be produced and distributed," and, in general, whether socialism is to be democratic as well as economically efficient. "These students will not be led into the illusion that socialism will make the truth simple and noncontroversial."⁴⁰ Thus he feels that "the shattering of faith in simple formulas of social change was a decisive event in the developing consciousness of the majority of those students who,

had they come to college ten years ago, might have been members of the Young Communist League or Labor Youth League.⁴¹ Hence, in the early 1960s, Horowitz desired the attainment of democratic goals, but he rejected communist party solutions and was very sceptical about Marxism in general.

DISILLUSIONMENT

This position is in sharp contrast to his later neo Marxist position. Why he and other student activists moved from a liberal-reformist position to a radical anticapitalist position will be of definite concern to us in this chapter. Within a few years after he wrote *Student*, Horowitz became strongly critical of US capitalism. *The Free World Colossus A Critique of American Foreign Policy in the Cold War*, published in 1965, was an early indication of his changing thought.⁴² And by 1969, Horowitz's *Empire and Revolution* depicted US capitalism as preventing nationalist revolutions in colonized and semicolonized countries, expanding overseas economically and militarily, engaging in a dangerous Cold War with Russia, failing to solve domestic crises in race relations, and so forth.⁴³ His views changed from 'This country of ours is beautiful' but in need of reform to the United States is imperialist and in need of revolution.⁴⁴

From his initial suspicion of Marxism he turned to a reinterpretation of the Marxist world view from the perspective of the New Left. Why did Horowitz and others whom he represents shift from a reformist to a radical position?

FAILURE OF REFORM Probably the two most general conditions that led many student activists to change from reformism to radicalism were the failure of the system to produce the desired widespread reforms, and the antidemocratic events associated with the Vietnam war. At the start of the 1960s most student activists did not think it was necessary to go outside the existing democratic framework of American society to generate needed changes. Relatively few advocated Marxist or other radical solutions to problems such as poverty, voting rights, adequate medical care, and even the larger issues of freedom and equality. We have seen the views of one activist on this matter, Horowitz. Similarly the 'Port Huron Statement' of the Students for a Democratic Society, largely written by Tom Hayden in 1962, announced support for general democratic values but also noted that "Perhaps matured by the past, we have no sure formulas, no closed theories".⁴⁵ Commenting on SDS from 1962 to 1966, Jacobs and Landau note that SDS began "ideological discussion among the young intellectuals. But the majority of SDS mem-

bers, then and today [in 1966] are anti-ideological, and are in SDS because that's where the action is"⁴⁶

So the early New Left activists were willing to give the system more than half a chance to produce the desired reforms. They were even willing to go "Part of the way with LBJ" when he was running for President in 1964.

But the social reforms did not occur on the scale desired by the student activists. I do not claim that no social changes occurred throughout the sixties. There is evidence that more limited changes did occur with regard to poverty and race relations.⁴⁷ Still, poverty and racism existed throughout the country. In fact, the changes that occurred probably created a feeling of relative deprivation on the part of the activists, who saw that changes could occur but who also saw fewer changes occur than they had hoped for.

Furthermore, the racial changes that occurred often were accompanied by violence or were strongly resisted by established (and this included liberal) authorities. For example, reforms were instituted in Watts but only after bloody riots. Also the formation of Third World Colleges at San Francisco State and the University of California at Berkeley was met with strong resistance by liberal academic authorities, and the colleges were instituted only after violent confrontations. Third World Colleges were not always ushered in by these means, but other schools very likely took their cues from events at San Francisco State and Berkeley and decided to act more gracefully. Also, in spite of reforms for blacks, ghettos still existed, with all their attendant problems. Finally, there was an increasing feeling that the liberal establishment, although "officially" responsible for initiating and carrying out change, actually had a stake in preventing strong reforms. Tom Hayden put it this way:

My own disenchantment with the U.S. didn't really come because of its failures in Negro rights and foreign policy, but with the realization, which has grown within the last year, that responsibility for these things lies with the most respectable people in society — people in the North with connections with the foundations, corporations and banks and the Democratic Party, who parade in their own suburban communities as liberals, but happen to own, lock, stock, and barrel, the major enterprises in Mississippi.⁴⁸

So student activists did not see the type of reforms carried out that they envisioned earlier in the decade, and they were beginning to doubt the possibility of major improvements being made within the existing system. In fact, a professor who was sympathetic to student activists dedicated a book to them as such:

To those many eager college students who have wondered with great bafflement how so much effort and activity could produce so little result.⁴⁹

VIETNAM Whatever doubts the students were developing about American democracy were exacerbated by Vietnam. The United States was supporting a man, General Ky, who allegedly said his only hero was Hitler. It was becoming increasingly clear that the Ky government, as well as others backed by the United States, did not have the widespread popular support that genuinely democratic governments must have. Instead, these governments received U.S. military assistance simply because of their opposition to communism; it did not matter how democratic or undemocratic the regimes might be. In addition, the U.S. government attempted to manipulate American public opinion over Vietnam, as was indicated by the *Pentagon Papers* and as was pointed out earlier in books like *The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam*.⁵⁰ Thus, the democratic credibility of the United States came further into question, not only internally, in its failures to make widespread domestic reforms, but also externally, in its support of undemocratic governments.

Furthermore, activists began to look beyond Vietnam at U.S. involvements elsewhere. Horowitz's *The Free World Colossus* showed U.S. intervention in the affairs of other countries such as Guatemala, Greece, Iran, Turkey, Cuba, Korea, and Vietnam. When students saw this type of economic and military involvement overseas — plus an announcement by the State Department that the United States would "defend" eighty countries militarily whether asked to do so or not — the issue of imperialism began to arise. Thus, the development of radical political consciousness among at least some student activists by the late 1960s was their response to the undemocratic nature of the Vietnam war and to the failure of the United States to produce widespread reforms.

RADICAL-REFORMIST CONSCIOUSNESS There is a final type of political consciousness to be discussed here — the radical reformist political consciousness mentioned earlier. A few years after the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley, which attacked the educational system of the multiversity, a related but distinct viewpoint began to emerge. This viewpoint argued that various problems did exist in the modern multiversity, and that students occupied an alienated and powerless position. However, the reason students were alienated (and even exploited, according to some versions of this position) was that links existed between the multiversity and capitalism.⁵¹ The capitalist economic system in the United States was seen to have various technical and bureaucratic needs that forced students into highly specialized, and often uninteresting, courses of study to prepare them for specialized occupations. The bureaucratic treatment of students and the demand that students conform to "academic standards" was seen to be very consistent with the needs of the capitalist economic system. As a result, students rebelled against

both the educational system and the capitalist economic system. In short, by the latter part of the sixties this radical-reformist political consciousness began to emerge in part of the student activist population.

Although radical consciousness and radical-reformist consciousness began to emerge as the sixties developed, many students, and even some activists, maintained a faith in the democratic viability of the United States. The trend toward a radical critique is found in only part of the student population and in only part of the student movement. In examining data on the national student population, Lipset estimates that by the end of the sixties only 10 percent of the U.S. college population was radical in ideology.⁵² However, the proportion of those who were radically conscious would increase among the activist population, as the data to be discussed below suggest.

The purpose of the next section is to examine the relationship between types of political consciousness and student activism. We shall want to see if radical consciousness has a higher association with student activism than reformist consciousness. Similarly, we shall want to see if the combination of radical consciousness and educational reform consciousness produces a higher association with activism than either radical consciousness or educational reform consciousness alone. Finally, we shall want to see if approaches to activism that de emphasize political ideology have any empirical support.

Four Theories and an Empirical Test

There have been a number of attempts to explain engagement in student activism in the United States. The theories have varied widely, and each has at least some empirical support.

One of the central themes that distinguish the various theories from one another is the importance placed on different types of political consciousness or on the lack of political consciousness as a central variable in the theory. One approach emphasizes the radical political consciousness of student activists. A second approach states that activists are motivated by reformist, rather than radical, ideologies. According to this view, students are a relatively powerless group, merely trying to improve their own situation by reforming the university. A third approach combines the first two in that it sees activists rebelling against both capitalist society and the educational system. This approach sees activists motivated by radical reformist political consciousness. Finally, a fourth approach de emphasizes political consciousness as a major condition leading to activism. This approach thus differs from any of the other approaches because it does not emphasize either radical, reformist,

or radical reformist political consciousness as a central variable in the theory. Instead, activism is seen as the result of other factors, such as family conflict. We shall empirically examine each of these approaches to student activism, using data collected at the University of California at Berkeley in 1968.⁵³

RADICAL POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS. FLACKS'S THEORY OF ACTIVISM

Among the theorists emphasizing the importance of radical political consciousness in determining activism, Richard Flacks has been one of the most influential.⁵⁴ He believes that student activists adhere to an ideology which is highly critical of the United States. He feels that activists are distinguished from nonactivists by their greater attachment to radical political ideologies, as well as to nonpolitical beliefs which could be called "humanistic values." Flacks begins by stating

As all of us are by now aware, there has emerged, during the past five years, an increasingly self conscious student movement in the United States. This movement began primarily as a response to the efforts by southern Negro students to break the barriers of legal segregation in public accommodations—scores of northern white students engaged in sympathy demonstrations and related activities as early as 1960. But as we all know, the scope of the student concern expanded rapidly to include such issues as nuclear testing and the arms race, attacks on civil liberties, the problems of the poor in urban slum ghettos, democracy and educational quality in universities, the war in Vietnam, conscription.⁵⁵

As opposed to a view that sees students "rebelling" against their parents, Flacks sees a continuity in political perspective between the generations.

Most students who are involved in the movement (at least those one finds in a city like Chicago) are involved in neither "conversion" from nor "rebellion" against the political perspectives of their fathers. A more supportable view suggests that the great majority of these students are attempting to fulfill and renew the political traditions of their families.⁵⁶

To the extent that there are differences between left-wing parents and their left-wing children, Flacks states that "activists are more 'radical' than their parents."⁵⁷ Flacks makes this statement because his data show two tendencies: (a) parents and their activist children similarly support reformist values such as civil rights for Negroes, (b) however, the activist children are more likely than their parents to support radical values such as the full socialization of industry. But his overall argument points to the continuity in left wing political consciousness between activists and their parents.

Flacks sees this radical perspective among upper-status families. In contrast to a Marxist approach which would expect radical views among the working class, Flacks finds activists with radical views coming from parents who are wealthy, well-educated, and professional.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, his ideas are consonant with one element of Marxist thinking: some of Flacks's activists could be Marx's "bourgeois ideologists" who have transcended their class position and have moved in a revolutionary direction with the oppressed classes.

REFORMIST POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS SAVIO AND UNIVERSITY REFORM

There have been many attempts to interpret activism on grounds other than radical ideology. A major alternative approach explains activism by belief in a reformist ideology. Students are seen as rebelling, not for wider political economic aims, such as the overthrow of capitalism, but simply in response to their own lowly status in the university. Their political actions parallel those of labor unions—students resent the more powerful university administration or faculty and therefore focus their political actions upon improving conditions "at the factory." In spite of their often intense dissatisfaction, their protests are aimed primarily at the multiversity rather than at society as a whole.

Mario Savio was an important spokesman for this position. He listed university conditions that drive students to protest: irrelevant subjects, large classes, impersonal university bureaucracy, professors more interested in research than teaching, unrealistically long reading lists, superficial "survey" courses, and the like.⁵⁹

If you are an undergraduate still taking non-major courses, at least one of your subjects will be a "big" lecture in which, with field glasses and some good luck, you should be able, a few times a week, to glimpse that famous profile—giving those four- or five-year old lectures, which have been very conveniently written up for sale by the Fybate Company anyway. The lectures in the flesh will not contain much more than is already in the Fybate notes, and generally no more than will be necessary to do well on the examinations. Naturally, it will be these examinations which determine whether or not you pass the course. Such an education is conceived as something readily quantifiable: 120 units constitute a bachelor's degree.⁶⁰

Savio went on to describe the process whereby these university conditions lead to protest: some students become conscious of the unfair situation they face at school and are thereby led to protest. Speaking of the Free Speech Movement, he stated that its concern changed from Mississippi to the multiversity:

Civil rights was central in our fight. Nevertheless the focus of our attention

shifted from our deep concern with the victimization of others to outrage at the injustices done to ourselves. These injustices we came to perceive more and more clearly as we sought to secure our own rights to political advocacy.⁶¹

Savio concluded that Berkeley's political consciousness had been heightened, and he called for "oppressed" middle class whites to join students in demanding freedom for all Americans.⁶²

Although Savio was quite critical of the University of California, he did not develop a criticism of corporate capitalism, imperialism, or any of the other more general targets of a radical position during the Free Speech Movement. Instead, he was mainly upset by civil rights injustices and by injustices to students in the multiversity. (It might be noted parenthetically that later in the sixties Savio did develop a more radical critique of the social system.)⁶³

The limited goals of reformists are suggested by the solutions that might follow criticisms such as Savio's. In a nutshell, they would be university reforms. After the Free Speech Movement, there was a flurry of plans for smaller classes, more intimate relations between professors and students, integrated courses which brought together scholars from various fields, and attempts to permit students to create "relevant" courses. There is little doubt that the administration and faculty hoped that these university reforms — which were partly inspired by Savio's critiques — would reduce protests.

RADICAL-REFORMIST POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS THE NEW WORKING CLASS THEORY

The approach to activism mentioned above that emphasizes student antagonism to both the larger society and to the multiversity is associated with the theory of the New Working Class. Herbert Gintis and others have recently argued that a class of "educated laborers" is developing in the United States and other corporate capitalist societies.⁶⁴ These educated laborers are seen as controlled by the needs of corporate capitalism, this control, in turn, is felt first in the school situation and later in the working world. It is argued that students eventually become aware of this control over them, and that they rebel against the alienated educational environment. This argument is similar to the Savio-type critique of the multiversity previously discussed. But it differs from the strictly reformist critique of the multiversity because it links the operation of the multiversity to corporate capitalism. Hence the New Working Class approach combines elements of the reformist and radical approaches to student activism.

**THE DE-EMPHASIS OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: FEUER'S FAMILY
CONFLICT APPROACH**

The fourth, and final, approach to student activism de-emphasizes the positive contribution of political consciousness in determining activism. Instead, it explains activism on nonideological grounds such as poor family relations. For example, Lewis Feuer feels that there are universal traits of all student movements, such as juvenocracy, filiarchy, intellectual elitism, and populism.⁶⁵ These universal traits, in turn, emerge from universal family problems. According to Feuer, activism is an attempt by the student to work out his family conflicts in the political arena. For instance, in discussing the Russian revolution, Feuer refers to such concepts as father son relationships and conflicts between generations. He states that

A reconciliation between fathers and sons was indeed taking place between 1905 and 1917.⁶⁶

However,

By 1917 the student movement had lost its historic opportunity to promote a rational social evolution in Russia. Its idealism had for several decades been so intermixed with the apotheosis of destruction, its political consciousness had been for so long dominated by generational struggle, that it was emotionally disarmed when the Bolshevik party in October 1917 put into practice what the students so long had preached.⁶⁷

This point of view suggests that the history of modern Russia, and of the modern world in general, would have been different if the students had not permitted their political consciousness and actions to be guided by generational conflicts!

An approach like Feuer's does de emphasize the students' ideology if all that were necessary to know about the protestors was the extent of their family conflicts, then it would not be necessary to examine the content or arguments of their ideology. Knowledge of their family conflicts would be enough to understand why they were protesting.

AN EMPIRICAL TEST OF THE THEORIES OF ACTIVISM

These four theories of activism were evaluated by data gathered from three surveys of Berkeley students and their parents in 1968.⁶⁸ The data do not claim ultimately to "prove" or "disprove" any of the theories. However, the data do provide evidence relative to the theories which is particularly worthwhile, since the University of California at Berkeley has been a center of student activism since the late 1950s. The data indicate at least some support for each position. However, the radical-

reformist approach is stronger than either the radical or the reformist approaches. On the other hand, the radical approach is stronger than the reformist approach. In fact, a student with educational reform ideology who is not radically conscious also, is not very likely to be an activist. Finally, a detailed analysis of the data (not presented here) shows that the approaches of Feuer and Flacks are more compatible than is usually felt to be the case.

THE RADICAL APPROACH The concept of radical political consciousness has several dimensions, but each of them is related to making changes of social systems to improve the position of submerged groups. For example, radical political consciousness is concerned with making changes of the capitalist system, the undemocratic power system, the imperialist system, and the racist system. Similarly, radical political consciousness connotes support for radical alternative societies to the existing society. We have tried to get indicators of these antagonisms to capitalism, racism, and so forth, as well as support for radical alternative societies, by examining students' attitudes toward the capitalist economic system in the United States, anti-racist aspects of Black Power ideology, anti-imperialist aspects of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and Southeast Asia, the power system in the United States, socialist alternatives to the existing capitalist system, and revolutionary change in general. Let us now turn to some specific findings in our study (more detailed analysis of the data is presented elsewhere).⁶⁹

As predicted by the radical ideology approach to activism, Berkeley activists are likely to feel that the United States government was insincere about its motives in Southeast Asia. Similarly, they do not think that radical black power activities have worsened conditions for Negroes. Activists are likely to believe that the American economy needs sweeping changes in order to solve urgent social problems, and they are likely to offer socialist solutions including state ownership of industries. Many activists feel that they do not control their own lives and destinies; instead they agree with C. Wright Mills' claim that America is controlled by a power elite of high ranking businessmen, government officials and military officers. In sum, activists are likely to believe that American society is unjust and that revolutionary changes are necessary to correct the injustices.

THE REFORMIST APPROACH To a lesser extent, activists are likely to criticize the university and demand university reform. The relation between educational reform ideology and student activism tends to be weaker than between most of the components of radical ideology and activism. However, the activists tend to feel that classes at Berkeley are too large,

and that "UC is a factory" Similarly, they are not likely to trust the University of California administration or faculty with supporting their rights They are likely to call for increased control over their education, and they tend to feel that students should evaluate the faculty (who are often felt to be more interested in their research than in teaching) Still, it is interesting to note that activists are not much more likely to disagree than agree that they are "generally satisfied with UC"

THE RADICAL REFORMIST APPROACH When an overall index of radical political consciousness is formed, as well as an overall index of educational reform ideology, it is possible to see the combined impact of these two forms of political consciousness on student activism⁷⁰ The New Working Class theory predicts that the combination of radical consciousness and educational reform ideology will produce a higher association with activism than either radical consciousness or educational reform ideology alone This, in fact, happens Radical-reformist political consciousness has a higher association with activism than either radical consciousness or reformist consciousness alone And, as noted, if a person is critical only of the educational system, and not of the larger social system, he is not likely to be an activist Although there are other weaker aspects of the theory, the New Working Class theory does seem to be able to predict ideological tendencies among many student activists⁷¹

THE FAMILY CONFLICT APPROACH Finally, the Berkeley data indicate that a relationship exists between family conflicts and student activism When various measures of family conflict are examined, we must conclude that there is some support for Feuer's family-conflict approach to activism For example, we found a positive relation between family hostility and activism Similarly, we found a positive relation between parent child conflict during childhood and activism Interestingly enough, the conclusion about family conflicts and activism did not get formulated until more complex analysis of the data was carried out⁷² This means that the family approaches of both Feuer and Flacks have empirical support in my study This is an unusual finding because the two approaches to the family and activism are typically viewed as opposite approaches one examines conflict between the generations and the other examines continuity and harmony between the generations However, there is one aspect of Feuer's theory that is incompatible with Flacks's theory Feuer feels that activists reject their parents' political values, whereas Flacks feels that activists accept their parents' left-wing political values My data clearly support Flacks on this important issue

But the other data indicate that when we discuss conflict or harmony between the generations, it is necessary to spell out various levels of conflict or harmony. Clearly, activists can have conflictual relations with their parents at some levels but harmonious relations at other levels.

SUMMARY In sum, the political consciousness of student activists is very important to take into account when trying to understand engagement in activism. All three types of political consciousness discussed here have significant associations with activism, although radical consciousness is of greater importance in understanding activism than reformist consciousness. But we have also seen evidence for an approach that minimizes the causal importance of political consciousness in understanding activism. The problem with Feuer's approach to activism is that he tries to explain the entirety of student activism with his approach. So even though students can be seen in part as rebelling against their parents, it is also important to include political consciousness as a significant variable in any broader interpretation of student activism.⁷³

The Effects and Directions of the Student Movement

Two effects of the U.S. student movement in the 1960s will be discussed here: impact on the university, and impact on the larger society.

IMPACT ON THE UNIVERSITY

In general, the student movement probably has had more impact on the university than on the society as a whole. Since the Free Speech Movement in 1964, there has been some liberalization of relationships between faculty, students, and administrators on many campuses throughout the United States. With regard to the Free Speech Movement itself, Kornhauser says:

The concrete result of the conflict at Berkeley was liberalized rules governing political action on campus. New ways of making rules about student political activity developed, including increased student participation in the institutional methods of rule-making.⁷⁴

Liberalized relationships since 1964 have gone beyond student participation in making rules concerning such issues as political speech. At various universities and colleges there has been student participation in such previously sacrosanct activities as faculty and administrative hiring, graduate school admissions, organization and presentation of courses, decisions to keep or expel students from school on academic or non-academic grounds, and the like. It is easier to disseminate critical ideas to students and others around the campus and off the campus. And

there are now many more critical ideas in existence than was the case, for example, in the 1950s At one point C Wright Mills' *The Power Elite* was one of the few truly critical books on U S society, the publication of this book brought him scorn in many liberal circles, but it did eventually get a hearing by students⁷⁵ However, by the late 1960s there were many books and articles dealing with such topics as racism, U S capitalism and imperialism, colonialism, the power elite, and ruling class Numerous student activists read, studied, criticized, and discussed these books, in and out of the university

Actually, administrators can handle some demands for university reform rather easily Even when the faculty is against student inclusion in the various decisions mentioned above, the administration can argue that the peace is more likely to be maintained if, for example, a few students are included in faculty hiring decisions As a result many radical activists have felt that involvement only in student reform movements is a waste of time and is inherently "co optive" (i.e., the students are brought more fully into the workings of the system with the hope they will not disrupt the system) In fact, former University of California Chancellor Roger Heuys, who had to deal with the majority of student protests at Berkeley during the 1960s, said that a lesson of his administration was that the university is properly governed by many groups including the regents, faculty, students, administration, nonacademic staff, and the government of the larger society⁷⁶ Thus, many academic people now believe that the inclusion of students in some university decisions will not "bring the university to its knees" as had earlier been feared So the protests of the students undoubtedly helped to increase democratic participation by students as well as by other previously powerless groups such as nonacademic employees

On the other hand, things have not changed so drastically in the overall picture of the university Professors and administrators still make the large majority of decisions on campus, and they are especially influential when controversies appear For example, periodically there are cases in which students want to retain radical professors whose departments want to deny them tenure, in spite of student support, these controversial professors are usually fired In addition, many students who have been leaders in campus protests are suspended, expelled, or otherwise punished, even though some of their desired reforms may subsequently be adopted by the administration There is no longer moral concern about calling police on campus If the administration feels it is necessary, the police are routinely summoned Similarly, plainclothes officers are common on most campuses where there have been disturbances In fact, during a protest it is possible to see a person dressed like

a student, often in unconventional clothes, arrest a student Finally, the university has not greatly reduced its ties to established, often controversial, institutions It still maintains cordial relations with business, agriculture, the federal government, and the military In a recent vote by the Academic Senate over the University of California's engagement in classified government research, frequently with military implications, the decision was to continue the research Thus, in spite of some changes, such as student initiated (as opposed to "professor initiated") courses, the basic structure of American colleges and universities remains about the same

IMPACT ON SOCIETY

The impact of the student movement on the larger society is more difficult to assess than the impact on the university There is some evidence that the student movement heightened the liberal or radical awareness of the larger society However, there is other evidence that the movement generated a backlash of reaction against it It is likely that the American public is more aware than before of various contradictions in U.S. policies, such as using statements about peace to help escalate the Vietnam war⁷⁷ And it is almost certain that student antiwar protests influenced the majority of Americans to oppose the Vietnam war⁷⁸

On the other hand, there are many goals of the student movement that have not yet been achieved There continue to be racism, poverty exploitation, and oppression at home and abroad, university complicity in war related research, and many other problems Whereas the student movement probably helped to make a dent in some of these, it has by no means eradicated them In fact, the rise of the Weathermen and other terrorist groups may be a response to the failure of the student movement to generate the widespread changes in society that had been envisioned⁷⁹

Although we must exercise caution with the following conclusion, the student movement may already have accomplished a potentially radical goal in helping to get more than half of the American populace to oppose a government backed war The movement helped persuade large numbers of people to oppose their government on a vital issue Now, an important condition for radical change is radical political consciousness on the part of significant numbers in the populace Therefore, by increasing radical awareness in at least part of the larger society, the student movement may have laid the basis for a broader movement toward radical change⁸⁰

Nevertheless, the student movement, by itself, is limited If any of its difficult goals are to be accomplished it will be necessary for the

student movement to unite with other potentially radical, or at least strongly reformist, groups. Students do not have access to the levers of power in society, although some may later have such access as adults. In addition, many students do not like long term organizational work, which is usually required for radical changes. Furthermore, their status as students is transitory, and it is necessary to have some organizational stability for the maintenance of a radical movement.

Students are only too aware of these deficiencies. As a result they have turned to other groups for short-term or even semipermanent coalitions, including Third World groups, labor unions, and the army. The latter has not received as much attention as the other two, but it could be the most revolutionary coalition of all. As Fanon, Huey Newton, and many other revolutionaries have pointed out, society's structure depends ultimately on force. Revolutions come about when the armed forces decide to move with the revolutionaries, as was the case in Russia.⁸¹ I do not claim that, at present, there is a great upsurge of an army-student radical movement. But the existence of many "GI Coffee Houses" around various military bases and other attempts by students to contact soldiers does suggest the interest of some students in alliances that could generate radical change.

DECLINE OF THE MOVEMENT

Most observers have noted that the New Left movement has either declined significantly or folded completely. A former member of the movement wrote an impressionistic, yet intriguing, article entitled "The Day the Movement Died."⁸² Similarly Lipset, in reviewing some recent data on the topic, notes a "decline in commitment to militant politics in the seventies."⁸³ He further adds that now "major confrontation crises are relatively rare."⁸⁴ The one study of U.S. campuses that would point to an opposite conclusion was done for the years 1970-1971.⁸⁵ Bayer and Astin present data indicating a continuing series of protests throughout the country in 1970-1971. However, they suggest that the news media did not cover various protests at smaller or less prestigious schools and thereby gave the impression that protests had declined when they actually did not. Although the data presented by these authors are convincing for the years 1970-1971, I have to agree with other assessments that by the early seventies the actual amount of political protests by students had significantly declined.

Along with attempting to assess the changes in political behavior by students in the early 1970s, various investigators have tried to assess the changes in political ideology among students. Most investigators agree that fewer students are committed to a radical political ideology in the

seventies than in the late sixties. For example, Lipset shows that even by the fall of 1970 there was a decline in commitment to radical ideology in the national student population.⁸⁶ The question that remains is whether US students have become actually conservative in their views, or if there has been a general change to "left" views, albeit liberal left-wing views instead of radical left-wing views.⁸⁷ I tend to agree with the latter position because the data on which it is based include students at various levels in college, whereas the position arguing for conservative ideology was based on a study of freshmen only.⁸⁸

Although there is probably a decline of radical ideology among the college student population in general, there has been a recent trend among at least a portion of those previously in the movement to develop serious socialist alternatives to the existing capitalist system. There have been socialist caucuses at various professional meetings, and there is a beginning socialist literature coming from the New Left.⁸⁹ It is a generally accurate assessment that throughout the 1960s the New Left spent much more energy in criticizing existing society than in creating viable positive alternatives.⁹⁰ However, this trend may well be reversed in the 1970s.

Lipset suggests many factors that "have all combined to end the wave of radical activism" in the United States.⁹¹ The factors are

new generations rejecting the old [radicalism and change orientation] as the way of *their* campus elders, the end of the draft and of American land fighting in Vietnam, black separatism (which reduces the moral pressure on whites to fight for civil rights), the presence of major party candidates who take a strongly liberal and anti war position, the end of the age of assured jobs for college graduates, and not least the application by college administrators of sophisticated "go along with the crowd" tactics.⁹²

THE FUTURE

I think this is a very good catalogue of reasons for the decline of radical consciousness and student activism in the 1970s. But the same list can also suggest conditions whereby student political activism could again be revived on a large scale. It certainly suggests that further US involvement in Vietnam and elsewhere could reactivate the student movement. This reactivation would be especially likely on politically conscious campuses such as the University of California at Berkeley. Furthermore, civil rights issues could be the focus of protests by Third World students. Similarly, issues of women's rights could be the focus for female student protests. Thus, any action by authorities that would seem to deny Third World or women's rights or would imply US land fighting abroad could be the basis of future organized student protests.

The likelihood of widespread militant activism in the immediate future is probably small. The Vietnam war generated serious strains during the sixties which underlay many of the student protests. The seventies have not yet produced an event of similar magnitude. Even the disillusionment created by Watergate has not had the same impact on the American student population as did Vietnam. I do not say that specific protests are unlikely during the seventies. Protests over specific injustices to ethnic minorities, for example, would be expected to occur periodically. But it will probably take another major social catastrophe — like the depression of the thirties or the Vietnam war of the sixties — to generate truly widespread radical protests.⁹³ Thus, broader political and economic events will be likely to influence the reactivation, or lack of reactivation, of the U.S. student movement.

Notes

- 1 Richard E. Peterson, "The Scope of Organized Student Protest" in Julian Foster and Durward Long, editors, *Protest! Student Activism in America*, New York: William Morrow & Company, p. 63, table 1.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Jerome H. Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1969, p. 98.
- 4 Peterson, p. 78.
- 5 The empirical data on which I base various statements are of three kinds: (a) a re-analysis of a random sample of the Berkeley campus of the University of California in 1968, the Sociology 105 students of Professor Robert H. Somers collected the data, (b) a parental questionnaire developed by Somers emphasizing social and political characteristics was sent to the parents of the students, (c) a parental Q-Sort developed by Dr. Jeanne Block and her associates at the Institute of Human Development at the University of California at Berkeley, emphasizing child-rearing practices, was sent to the parents of the students. For a more elaborate analysis of the data see my Ph.D. dissertation James L. Wood, "Political Consciousness and Student Political Activism," Department of Sociology, University of California at Berkeley, 1973, unpublished. Also see James L. Wood, "The Role of Radical Political Consciousness in Student Political Activism: A Preliminary Analysis," paper given to the 66th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, Colorado, 1971. My dissertation discusses the rather complex trends in activism at Berkeley over time.
- 6 Urban Research Corporation, John Naisbitt, President, "Student Protests 1969," 5464 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60615.
- 7 *Campus Unrest*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, p. 39.
- 8 Ibid.
9. Urban Research Corporation cited in *Campus Unrest*, p. 18.

way to keep them in existence and would help them to minimize tuition charges Another method of assistance to private schools would be vouchers entitling students to a year of free education in the schools they—or their parents—choose This education would be paid for by the same local, state, and national governments that now pay for the public schools, the only difference being that under a voucher system, pupils could go to a private or parochial school if they wanted to, instead of to the public schools

Some people fear that vouchers will destroy the public schools This possibility could be avoided by limiting the number of vouchers offered A restricted voucher system would give some choice to pupils and some incentive to public schools, without creating the possibility that all pupils would desert the public schools Vouchers could be issued at random, on a lottery basis, perhaps to 20 percent of the pupils in selected areas, primarily in ghettos but with enough in more affluent neighborhoods to encourage improvement in middle class schools, too This would also gain the support of middle class people for the program

A voucher system of this sort would have the beneficial effect of stimulating public schools to be more receptive to possible improvements, while still leaving the public schools intact and under the direction of professional educators There is no real reason, aside from inertia and vested interests in present methods, why public schools could not set up their own alternative schools within the district, or establish experimental programs within the same school For example, one first-grade class could offer reading instruction by a phonics method while another class in the same school could offer the more typical word recognition methods This “model subsystems” approach is already being tried in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Boston, Washington, D C , and elsewhere*

Examining Assumptions

While the authors are not optimistic about the chances for reform, they nonetheless believe that frank discussion of the problems is necessary Adult educators must alert their students to the major trends in society Blacks and whites should state their views frankly, as a first step toward working out mutually acceptable solutions to racial issues Sex bias should be called to the attention of teachers and parents Undergraduates should be given an accurate picture of both the advantages and difficulties of graduate education

These writers are urging us to examine the basic issues They are warning us about the common tendency to ignore an unpleasant truth

in the hope that it will quietly disappear of its own accord It is particularly important to re-examine basic assumptions which are ordinarily accepted without question

For example, it is often asserted that minority students would be better off if they attended integrated, predominately white schools and had liberal teachers Nathan Hare's personal experience, however, suggests that this solution is not always correct It was a liberal teacher who refused to permit him to take college preparatory courses, and it was a middle-class white school which nearly caused him to drop out of education altogether Ironically, he was subsequently salvaged in a poverty stricken, all black school, and the tool which played a large part in his educational salvation was the widely condemned standardized achievement test

Was his case an exception? Perhaps, but if it happened to one person, it could happen to others

Another assumption to be wary of is that emphasis upon fundamentals is incompatible with kindness, relevance, or pride in one's self and one's heritage This is an untruth, and a tragic untruth at that because it has contributed to shortchanging millions of American pupils For most of this century, concentration upon the three Rs has been opposed on the grounds that it is old fashioned and therefore automatically inimical to the students' welfare Phonics and friendliness are assumed to be bitter enemies Teachers who give their pupils a solid grounding in arithmetic supposedly could not also be concerned with their personal growth as human beings, because computation and kindness are presumed to be mutually exclusive

Occasionally, as after the Soviet Union's Sputnik spectacular in the late 1950s, a firmer regimen became fashionable for a while, but on the whole, structure has been linked with harshness with a lack of concern for the pupil, and even with cruelty The reasons for this presumption are too involved to discuss here They include organizational convenience, professional intransigence, and sincere humanitarian concern, but the consequence has been that the educational establishment has adopted a pseudo liberal stance, protecting present methods, philosophies, and personnel by denouncing proposed reforms as old fashioned, reactionary, unscientific, or not in the students' best interests

While many of our authors were critical of education and some called for more relevance and group pride, even the most militant did not advocate diluting the basic subjects As social scientists we realize that, whether we like it or not, we are living in a technological society in which formal education has become a requisite for many desirable

positions Some individuals may do adequately in school without a firm grounding in the fundamentals, but their chances will be better if they are proficient in basic skills

Clarifying Objectives

A final, crucial point on which the writers all agreed was the necessity of clarifying objectives Each segment of the American educational system has an identity of its own, with its special functions, its particular strengths and weaknesses, its capabilities and incapacities At least part of the tension in our schools and colleges has stemmed from confusion about this point We have not really known what to expect from the various components of the educational system, and often we have expected too much

This attitude has been most evident at the elementary and secondary level, where we have wanted public schools to develop personality, citizenship, intellect, job skills, morality, and physical well being for a vast, nonvoluntary and extremely heterogeneous student body, but we also expect too much from other parts of the educational system We look to colleges for liberal arts, research, professional training, general education, and championship football teams Vocational education is expected to cope with poverty, crime, unemployment, and civil rights

Simply listing these expectations suggests the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of satisfying all the diverse mandates To correct the situation which has resulted from unrealistically broad expectations, schools at all levels should take the initiative in defining their objectives They should state clearly which areas are and are not their concern This book has suggested what these objectives might be Several authors advocate narrowing the goals, freeing the institution from responsibilities not compatible with its essential objectives In other areas the goals should be broadened

Thus, elementary schools should concentrate on the three R's, high schools should be relieved of the burden imposed by compulsory education laws, community colleges should strengthen their remedial and vocational programs and stop trying to be like traditional universities, four-year colleges should concentrate on the liberal arts, leaving vocational preparation to other schools or to graduate institutions, graduate schools should sharpen their procedures, accepting fewer students but giving them better guidance, vocational educators should not try to change the stratification system or solve other social problems but should focus upon providing job training in an atmosphere in which the students feel comfortable

Expanded goals were recommended in other areas. Adult education should give people what they need as well as what they want, and ethnic and women's studies should make education relevant and strengthen the self-image of their clientele.

Clear statements of objectives would benefit the educational system, the pupil, and the society. The school would have more specific, better-defined objectives, which would make it easier for the school to shape its own policies, and would allow it to reject other responsibilities which are not relevant to its stated goals.

Students would have a clearer idea of what the particular school offers them and could therefore chart their own paths more effectively.

Society would have a better idea of what to expect from each kind of school and therefore would be less likely to place unreasonable demands upon institutions which cannot possibly satisfy them. A more realistic view of education's limitations would increase the chances that society would look elsewhere for solutions to major problems of poverty, violence, and urban congestion. In the past it has been assumed that schools would somehow find solutions to these problems, succeeding where God, free enterprise, and the family had failed.

Much of the blame for this assumption rests upon educators themselves. Eager to get as much support as possible, they willingly accepted most of the jobs offered to them. For a century or so, few people complained that schools were not doing all they had agreed to do. The schools—and society—were providing enough successes to deflect attention away from the failures: the frontier was being settled, cities were growing, industry and technology were developing, immigrants were being assimilated, and American prestige and power were recognized around the world. These collective achievements were matched, even exceeded, by the individual examples of the poor farm lad who became President and the immigrant youth who became a millionaire.

But now time is running out. The dreams of a youthful nation have given way, after two hundred years, to the sober perspectives of a more mature society. The fairy tale of success, our hopes for "pie in the sky," "peace with honor," "living happily ever after," "with liberty and justice for all"—such dreams have not materialized, and large numbers of people are asking, "Why not?" Many of our institutions, up to and including the Presidency of the United States, are being scrutinized more closely than ever before. The schools, which previously encouraged our dreams and our financial support, are also sharing in this critical reassessment.

Yet, uncomfortable as it has been, we are not completely devastated by revelations that individuals and organizations are not behaving as

positions Some individuals may do adequately in school without a firm grounding in the fundamentals, but their chances will be better if they are proficient in basic skills

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This attitude has been most evident at the elementary and secondary level, where we have wanted public schools to develop personality, citizenship, intellect, job skills, morality, and physical well being for a vast, nonvoluntary and extremely heterogeneous student body, but we also expect too much from other parts of the educational system We look to colleges for liberal arts, research, professional training, general education, and championship football teams Vocational education is expected to cope with poverty, crime, unemployment, and civil rights

Simply listing these expectations suggests the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of satisfying all the diverse mandates To correct the situation which has resulted from unrealistically broad expectations, schools at all levels should take the initiative in defining their objectives They should state clearly which areas are and are not their concern This book has suggested what these objectives might be Several authors advocate narrowing the goals, freeing the institution from responsibilities not compatible with its essential objectives In other areas the goals should be broadened

Thus, elementary schools should concentrate on the three R's, high schools should be relieved of the burden imposed by compulsory education laws, community colleges should strengthen their remedial and vocational programs and stop trying to be like traditional universities, four-year colleges should concentrate on the liberal arts, leaving vocational preparation to other schools or to graduate institutions, graduate schools should sharpen their procedures, accepting fewer students but giving them better guidance, vocational educators should not try to change the stratification system or solve other social problems but should focus upon providing job training in an atmosphere in which the students feel comfortable

Expanded goals were recommended in other areas. Adult education should give people what they need as well as what they want, and ethnic and women's studies should make education relevant and strengthen the self-image of their clientele.

Clear statements of objectives would benefit the educational system, the pupil, and the society. The school would have more specific, better-defined objectives, which would make it easier for the school to shape its own policies, and would allow it to reject other responsibilities which are not relevant to its stated goals.

Students would have a clearer idea of what the particular school offers them and could therefore chart their own paths more effectively.

Society would have a better idea of what to expect from each kind of school and therefore would be less likely to place unreasonable demands upon institutions which cannot possibly satisfy them. A more realistic view of education's limitations would increase the chances that society would look elsewhere for solutions to major problems of poverty, violence, and urban congestion. In the past it has been assumed that schools would somehow find solutions to these problems, succeeding where God, free enterprise, and the family had failed.

Much of the blame for this assumption rests upon educators themselves. Eager to get as much support as possible, they willingly accepted most of the jobs offered to them. For a century or so, few people complained that schools were not doing all they had agreed to do. The schools—and society—were providing enough successes to deflect attention away from the failures. The frontier was being settled, cities were growing, industry and technology were developing, immigrants were being assimilated, and American prestige and power were recognized around the world. These collective achievements were matched, even exceeded, by the individual examples of the poor farm lad who became President and the immigrant youth who became a millionaire.

But now time is running out. The dreams of a youthful nation have given way, after two hundred years, to the sober perspectives of a more mature society. The fairy tale of success, our hopes for "pie in the sky," "peace with honor," "living happily ever after," "with liberty and justice for all"—such dreams have not materialized, and large numbers of people are asking, "Why not?" Many of our institutions, up to and including the Presidency of the United States, are being scrutinized more closely than ever before. The schools, which previously encouraged our dreams and our financial support, are also sharing in this critical reassessment.

Yet, uncomfortable as it has been, we are not completely devastated by revelations that individuals and organizations are not behaving as

they should. Although not enough is being done about many of our serious problems, there is, nevertheless, an atmosphere in which voluntary reforms will be tolerated and even encouraged. This would be an opportune time for the schools to admit their errors, weaknesses, and failures, and to rechart their course on a more realistic level.

Notes

- 1 Alvyn W. Gouldner, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles-I,' *Administrative Science Quarterly* (1957), 281-306.
- 2 Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1957, p. 16.
- 3 Pamela Swift, "Keeping Up With Youth," *Parade*, March 24, 1974, p. 20, cites figures from the Modern Language Association indicating a 92 percent drop in the two years between 1970 and 1972, the latest period for which figures are available. Many colleges have dropped their former entrance requirements of two or three years' language instruction, with the result that more and more high school students take no language at all. There has been a corresponding drop in college language classes.
- 4 R. Jean Hills, *Toward a Science of Organization*, Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1968, p. 97.
- 5 Ellen Lurie, *How to Change the Schools*, New York: Random House, 1970, pp. 253-267.
- 6 Paul R. Pierce, *The Origin and Development of the Public School Principalship*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. 8-9.
- 7 U. S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics 1972*, table 10, p. 12.
- 8 Mario Fantini, Marilyn Gittel, and Richard Magat, *Community Control and the Urban School*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970, pp. 42-49. The entire second chapter of this book offers a good description of various "Alternatives to School Reform."

CONTRIBUTORS

NATHAN HARE

Nathan Hare, former publisher of *The Black Scholar*, coined the phrase "ethnic studies" and was the first coordinator of a black studies program in the United States. Appointed to the post at San Francisco State College in 1968, he and the students embarked on a five-month strike for an autonomous Black Studies department. He has also taught at Howard University.

Dr. Hare holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago and a Ph.D. in clinical psychology from the California School of Professional Psychology, San Francisco. His A.B. degree is from Langston University, a Negro college in the all-Negro town of Langston, Oklahoma.

After receiving his first Ph.D., Dr. Hare was a professional boxer. He is presently a member of the Board of Directors of the North American Zonal Committee of the Second World Black and African Festival

of Arts and Culture and has been chosen to represent this committee in the Symposium on Black Civilization and Education' in Lagos Nigeria

Dr Hare is the author of *The Black Anglo Saxons*, Collier Books, 1970, and more than seventy articles in such periodicals as *Newsweek*, *Social Forces*, *Social Education*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Times of London*, *Transaction*, *Ebony*, and *The Journal of Negro Education*. He has recently been named to Who's Who in America.

BENJAMIN HODGKINS

Benjamin Hodgkins is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Manitoba, Canada. From a Catholic family, he attended Catholic elementary schools in Wayne Michigan, and then went to a public high school. He subsequently attended Michigan State University where he earned an A B in psychology, an M A in sociology and anthropology, and a Ph D in sociology.

He has taught at Florida State University, where he was also Research Associate at the Institute for Social Research. In addition, he has been a Research Sociologist at the American College Testing Program Research Institute. Prior to his academic employment he was a management placement officer for Chrysler Corporation.

He has presented a number of papers at regional and national meetings of professional associations, and his articles have appeared in journals dealing with sociology, education, and social work. His recent publications include *The Environment of Schooling Formal Education As An Open Social System*, with Robert Herriott, Prentice Hall 1973 and "The Effectiveness of Catholic Education A Comparative Analysis," *The Sociology of Education*, winter 1971.

CLARA SUE KIDWELL

Dr Kidwell is an Associate Professor in the Native American Studies program at the University of California Berkeley. She has served as chairperson of the Social Sciences Division at Haskell Indian Junior College the first college to be operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and has taught as an Assistant Professor in the American Indian Studies Department at the University of Minnesota. Her tribal background is Choctaw and Chippewa. She pursued graduate work on fellowships awarded by the John Hay Whitney Foundation and the National Defense Education Act Title IV, and earned her Ph D in history of science at the University of Oklahoma. She is a member of the History of Science Society, the American Indian Historical Association, the National Indian Education Association and the Indian Rights Committee of the Ameri-

can Civil Liberties Union Her publications include "Science and Ethnoscience," in *The Indian Historian*

IRVING KRAUSS

Irving Krauss is Associate Professor of Sociology at Northern Illinois University He has also taught at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California, the University of Hawaii, and the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

Dr Krauss earned an A B from the University of California, Berkeley, and an M A in sociology from the University of Chicago He returned to Berkeley for his Ph D in sociology

As a student he was involved in many facets of campus life, ranging from activist groups, such as the American Veterans Committee and Students for Democratic Action, to posts as art editor of the *Daily Californian* and president of the Graduate Sociology Club Later, as a faculty member he served on numerous committees concerned with various aspects of colleges and universities

He has presented papers at meetings of the American Sociological Association as well as at other conferences here and abroad and his articles have appeared in *The American Sociological Review*, *The Journal of Health and Human Behavior*, the *Sociological Review*, and *Sociology and Social Research* His book *Stratification, Class and Conflict* is being published by The Free Press

JACK LONDON

Jack London is Professor of Adult Education at the University of California, Berkeley He himself is a product of adult education, having finished high school and earned his A B degree by attending night school He has been president of a UAW-CIO local union, spent three years in the US Army during World War II, has been a training specialist for the Veterans Administration, supervising on-the-job training, and is serving as Visiting Professor and Director of the Nairobi Study Center at the University of Nairobi, Kenya, for 1974-1976

He received a Ph D in sociology from the University of Chicago He has taught in Nigeria, Tanzania, Canada, and Kenya, and has served on the Executive Committee of the Adult Education Association

His many books and chapters include *The Worker Views His Union*, University of Chicago Press, 1958, *Adult Education and Social Class*, Survey Research Center, U C, Berkeley, 1963, "The Social Setting of Adult Education" in *Handbook of Adult Education*, ed by Robert Smith, et al., Macmillan, 1970, and "Reflections Upon the Relevance of Paulo

Freire for American Adult Education," in Stanley M Grabowski, ed., *Paulo Freire A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator*, Syracuse Publications in Continuing Education, 1972. His articles have appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Annals*, *Adult Education*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Monthly Labor Review*, *Sociology and Social Research*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Adult Leadership*, *International Journal of Adult and Youth Education*, *Convergence*, and others.

WILLIAM NOLAN

William Nolan has taught journalism at Cabrillo College, Aptos, California, since 1961. Previously he taught in New Mexico and California high schools for twelve years.

During 1954-1955 he held a Fulbright award in New Zealand. In 1959 he was a Wall Street Journal Newspaper Fund Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley, and in 1960 was named the Fund's national "Journalism Teacher of the Year." He served as research analyst and editorial consultant for the California Senate Fact Finding Committee on Education in 1962-1963.

He received B.A. and B.S. degrees in Spanish and geography, as well as an M.Ed. in secondary education, from the University of Oklahoma. He earned his doctorate in education at the University of California at Berkeley.

BRUCE REINHART

Bruce Reinhart is Associate Director for Personnel Development at Ohio State University's Center for Vocational Education. He served two years in the U.S. Navy during World War II and six years as an apprentice in the building trades.

After receiving his A.B. in psychology and economics, he earned a B.D. in theology and spent thirteen years in the ministry. He received an M.A. in education at Northwestern University and a Ph.D. in adult education from the University of California at Berkeley. He also has a California Secondary Teaching Credential with a specialization in Junior College Teaching.

He has been a Research Consultant for the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education and an Assistant Professor of Vocational Education at UCLA, where he also supervised the Research Section of the Division of Vocational Education.

He has written more than a dozen books, monographs, and articles on vocational education, including "The Information Gap in Planning and Evaluation," *American Vocational Journal*, March 1971, and *Vocational-Technical Learning Materials*, Bro-Dart Publishing Co., 1973, and *Career*

Education: From Concept to Reality, McGraw-Hill Book Company, forthcoming.

DAVID W. SWIFT

David W. Swift is Professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii. He was an elementary teacher for seven years—in an isolated logging community, a suburb, and an urban ghetto. He also worked in a county education department and later in a county health department, conducting surveys, and training and evaluating paraprofessionals. He earned California credentials for teaching elementary school and junior high, and for school psychometry.

His degrees, including the Ph.D. in sociology, were received at the University of California, Berkeley. He has taught there and at San Francisco State College. He conducted research on public school teachers for the California Senate and the U.S. Office of Education, and has presented papers at annual meetings of the American Sociological Association and the Pacific Sociological Association.

His recent publications on education include *Ideology and Change in the Public Schools*, Charles E. Merrill Co., 1971; articles in *The Educational Forum* and *The Elementary School Journal*; and reprints in *Crucial Issues in Contemporary Education*, Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973, and *The Education Digest*. Other work has appeared in *Medical Care*, *Phylon*, and similar journals.

LOIS SWIFT

Lois Swift, a member of the Hawaii Task Force on Sex Bias in Education, has conducted research on sex bias in children's books. She earned an A.B. degree from the University of California at Berkeley, and taught in public elementary schools for ten years. She holds a lifetime California General Elementary Teaching Credential.

Her interest in the problems of women in traditionally male occupations began early: she had her own newspaper delivery route when she was eleven years old. During her teens she was an agricultural worker. Later while teaching she was active in teachers' organizations, working with local affiliates of both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers. She has been salary committee chairman, chapter president, and organizer.

ELDON L. WEGNER

Eldon L. Wegner is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. This chapter on graduate education reflects his own

experiences as a graduate student as well as his observations as a faculty member at several universities

He received a BA *cum laude* from the University of Redlands and obtained both the MA and Ph D from the University of Wisconsin, all in sociology. While a graduate student he earned awards from the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Mental Health, the University of Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation. Before joining the faculty at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, he was an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Riverside, and also taught at the University of Hawaii and the University of Pennsylvania. He has served as coordinator of graduate teaching assistants and on the Graduate Affairs Committee at Riverside.

His publications include "Some Factors in Obtaining Postgraduate Education," *Sociology of Education*, Spring, 1969, "Selection and Context as Factors Affecting the Probability of Graduation from College," *American Journal of Sociology*, with William H. Sewell, January, 1970, "The Effects of Upward Mobility A Study of Working Status College Students," *Sociology of Education*, summer, 1973, and "The Concept of Alienation A Critique and Some Suggestions for a Context Specific Approach," *Pacific Sociological Review*, April, 1975.

ROBERT WENKERT

Robert Wenkert is a lecturer in the School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. He received a Master's Degree in education at Berkeley, and a D Phil in sociology from Oxford University, England.

He was an adult education teacher for the Worker's Educational Association at Oxford, and has been employed as research sociologist at the University of California's Survey Research Center at Berkeley, in the Department of Education at UCLA, in the Syracuse Crusade For Opportunity, and by the Fund For the Republic at Yale University.

His articles, chapters and books include several co authored with Jack London "Leisure Styles and Adult Education," *Adult Education*, fall 1969, "Obstacles to Blue-Collar Participation in Adult Education," in Arthur Shostak and William Gomberg, eds., *Blue Collar World*, Prentice Hall, 1964 and *Adult Education and Social Class*, Survey Research Center, U C, Berkeley, 1963.

Dr. Wenkert's other publications and interests include ethnic relations and collective behavior.

JAMES L. WOOD

James L. Wood began his undergraduate training at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1959, and was a close observer of student ac-

tivism throughout the turbulent 1960s. He earned all three of his degrees there, from the Department of Sociology. He is on the faculty at San Diego State University, and has taught at Berkeley, Holy Names College, San Francisco State and the University of California, Riverside.

His doctoral dissertation was on student political activism, and he has given lectures and seminars on this topic. He was co-editor of the *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, and has presented papers at annual meetings of the American Sociological Association. He has written three monographs: *The Sources of Student Activism*, Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1974; *Political Consciousness and Student Activism*, Sage Publications, 1974; and *New Left Ideology: Its Dimensions and Development*, Sage Publications, in press. Co-author of *A Handbook for Block Clubs*, Berkeley: U.C. Extension, 1967, with Willie Thompson, and "Strands of Theory and Research in Collective Behavior," *Annual Review of Sociology* 1, 1975, with Gary T. Marx, his articles have appeared in *Human Organization* and the *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*.

INDEX

Achievement, academic, 111-113, 116-118, 281
Accountability, 41-43
 faculty, 223
Activism, *see* Student activism
Administration, 124-127
 public school, 37-39
 undergraduate, 150-152
Adult education, 14, 15, 441
 and adulthood, 242-245
 age, 250
 approach, 239-240
 courses, 236-237
 cultural pursuits and, 254
 curricula, 246-248
 definition of, 240-242
 dislocation, victims of, 253
 as duplicating formal education, 254

Everywoman's Village, 258-259
formal, alternatives to, 257-258
free universities, 256-257
functions of, 252-255
history, 237-239
intellectual pursuits and, 254
invisibility of, 236
and the labor force, 250-252
methods, 237
on-the-job training, 236, 253-254
open universities, 259-260
participants, needs of, 261-262
participation and social status, 248-250
programs, new, 255-256
purpose, 239
remedial instruction, 253
social status and participation, 248-250

- Adult education (*cont.*)
 special interests, 255
 sponsoring organizations, 236, 237
 students, 236
 University Without Walls, 259
- Alternate schools, 452
- American Federation of Teachers, 10
- Apprenticeship, 237
- Black education, 445-446
 alienating effect of education, 313-319
 Black Studies, 319-325
 busing and, 326-327
 change in, 328-330
 defeatism, 311
 history, 305-309
 integration, 327-328
 problems, 304, 329-330
 segregation, history of, 325-326
 separatism, 327-328
 students and functions of education, 311
 students' needs, 308
 teachers' attitudes, 309-311, 329
 white supremacy, subordinating effect of, 309
- Black Studies, 319-325
- Bureaucracy, 8
- Bureau of Indian Affairs, 339-340, 341-342
- Busing, 45-46
 and black education, 326-327
- Catholic education, 437-438, 442-443
 academic achievement, 82-83
 authority, 68-73, 438
 challenge to, 83
 lay, 71-72
 the bishop, 69
 curriculum, 77-78
 development of, 62-66
 Diocesan School Advisory Board, 69
 federal aid, 84-86
 finance, 74-75, 82, 84-86
 future of, 84
 goals, 67-68
 information output, 79-80
 materials, 78
 Mother Superior, 70
- Parent-Teacher Association, 72
 the pastor, 71
 personnel, 75-78
 philosophy of, 66-67
 the principal, 70-71
 principles of, 66
 problems of, 81-83
 and public education, 62-65
 purpose of the system, 67
 religious autonomy, 65-66
 religious information, 77-78
 religious instruction, need for, 81-82
 resources, 72
 schools, types of, 68
 secularization, 86-87
 service output, 80-81
 students, 77-78, 84
 student-teacher relationships, 73
 the superintendent, 69-70
 teachers, 71, 75-76
 lay, 72, 75-76, 84
- Centralism, 9
- Child Care, 6
- Civil rights movement, 405, 424-425
- College
 attendance, 161-165
 as community, 140
 defined, 139-140
 as social institution, 140
 structure, 147-152
- Community college
 academic achievement, 111-113, 116-118
 administration, 124-127
 adults, education of, 110-111 *See also* Adult education
 control of, 101-102
 cultural activities, 104-106
 curriculum, 127-129
 diversionary function of, 107-108
 diversity of types, 99
 dropouts, 112-113
 enrollment, 15
 faculty, 118-124
 functions, 98, 102-108, 438-439
 growth, 98-99
 history, 99-101
 Indian education, 355-356 *See also* Indian education

- recreational activities, 104-106
 remedial education, 106-107
 service to community, 129-131
 students, 109-111
 students for transfer, 111-112
 preparation for, 103
 underprivileged students, 113-116
 vocational training, 103-104, 246
 youth, education of, 109-110
- Community control, 47-49
 Compensatory education, 299-300
 Comprehensive two-year college, *see*
 Community college
 Correspondence course, 237
 Cultural activities, 104-106
 Cultural deprivation, 333
 Curriculum
 adult education, 246-248
 black education, 319-325
 Catholic education, 77-78
 community college, 127-129
 Indian studies, 359-362
 public education, 50-51
 women's education, 380-381
- Decentralization, 9, 47-49
 Desegregation, *see* Integration
 Discrimination, 163-165
 employment of women, 370-372
 Discussion groups, 237
 Dropouts, 112-113
 Drug abuse, 158
- Education
 assumptions, 454-456
 of blacks, *see* Black education
 bureaucratic nature of, 8
 centralism, 9
 community control, 9
 compulsory nature of, 7-8
 concepts of, 235
 as a custodial institution, 6, 8
 decentralization, 9
 defined, 142
 distrust of, 357
 functions of, 4-6
 goals, 456, 458
 in general, 2-3
 of Indians, *see* Indian education
 In industrialized societies, 4-10
 as an investment, 191
 liberating nature of, 143
 mass, 7-8
 of minorities, *see* Minority education
 in primitive societies, 4
 purposes, 235, 456-457
 resistance to change, 3, 449-452
 and society, 3
 sociology and, 3
 subversive nature of, 142-143
 trends in, 6-10
 unionism, 9-10
 of women, *see* Women's education
- Elementary Schools, *see* Public schools, Catholic education
 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 85, 298
 Everywoman's Village, 258-259
- Faculty, 148-150
 accountability, 223
 in Catholic education, 71, 72, 75-76, 84
 in community colleges, 118-124
 and student activism, 160-161
- Family
 and student activism, 420-421
 and undergraduate education, 151-152
- Fascism, 407-408
 Federal aid
 and alternative schools, 453
 and Catholic education, 84-86
 and vocational education, 276-277, 287
- Four-year colleges, *see* Undergraduate education
 Free Speech Movement, 405
 Free universities, 256-257
 Further education, *see* Adult education
- Graduate education, 440-441, 443-444
 assistantships, 224-229
 attendance, 200-210
 classical knowledge, shift in emphasis from, 191-192
 communication of programs to undergraduates, 208-209

- Graduate education (*cont.*)
 course work, role of, 218-219
 and "credential" society, 198-199
 desirability of, 187-189
 doctoral program, 218
 dissertation, 220-222
 examinations, 219-220
 faculty accountability, 223
 goals, 218, 220
 growth, 190-196
 negative effects of, 196-199
 importance of, 189-190, 193
 individual research, 216-217
 individual scholarship, 218-220
 as an investment, 191
 and job competence, 197-198
 master's degree, 217-218
 thesis, 220-221
 and the political process, 192
 professional class, training for, 191
 programs, 215-216
 purpose of, 190
 quality of, 212
 research, 192
 schools
 growth, 211
 history, 210-211
 problems of reputation, 211
 variability of quality, 213-214
 society, place in, 191
- Graduate students
 academic ability, 202-203
 decision to attend graduate school, 207-210
 financial support, 222
 individual mobility and, 193-195
 intellectual interest, 216-217
 men, 203
 motivation, 223
 orientation of department, 215
 overeducation, 197
 personal costs, 196-197
 racial background, 205-207
 socioeconomic background, 205-207
 types of, 200-202
 women, 203-204, 389-391
- Head Start, 298
- Higher education, *see* Community college
- lege, Graduate education, Undergraduate education
- Indian education, 446
 Bureau of Indian Affairs, 339-340, 341-342
 cultural deprivation, 333
 culture shock, 357
 distrust of education, 357
 diversity of Indian cultures, 333-334
 higher education, 354-359
 history, 333-339
 and Indian culture, 362-364
 Indian New Deal, 338
 Indian studies, 359-362
 integration, 353-354
 Johnson O Malley Act, 338-339, 342
 language difficulties, 345-348
 Office of Economic Opportunity, 343
 parental attitudes, 348-349
 peer pressure, 358
 poverty, 344-345, 356-357
 problems of, 343-353
 role models, scarcity of, 357
 segregation, 353-354
 self determination, 342-343
 silent response, 351-353
 structure, 339-340
 withdrawal, 357-358
- Indian studies, 359-362
- In loco parentis*, 158-159
- Innovation, 6
- Integration, 45-46, 327-328, 353-354
See also Segregation
- Internship, 237
- Job Corps, 298
- Johnson O'Malley Act, 338-339, 342
- Junior college, *see* Community college
- Kalamazoo Decision, 19
- Kindergartens, 14
- Lecture series, 237
- Manpower Development and Training Act, 283-284, 298

- Mass education, 7-8
 Minority education
 Blacks, 296-297 *See also* Black education
 compensatory programs, 299-300
 history, 297-299
 Indians, 296-297 *See also* Indian education
 problems, 300
 student activists, 296-297 *See also* Student activism
 women, 296-297 *See also* Women's education
- National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, 299
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 299
 National Education Association, 10
 Neighborhood Youth Corps, 298
 New Frontier, 409
 Nursery schools, 14
 Occupational placement, 5-6
 Office of Economic Opportunity, 343
 "Old Deluder Satan" Act, 19
 On-the-job training, 237, 253-254
 Open education, 44-45
 Open universities, 259-260
 Parents, attitudes of, 348-349
 Parent-Teacher Association and Catholic education, 72
 Parochial education, *see* Catholic education
 Peers, 358
 Political activism, *see* Student activism
 Poverty, 344-345, 356-357
 Private schools, 15 *See also* Catholic education
 Public schools, 437, 442-443
 accountability, 41-43
 administration, 26-29
 administrators, 37-39
 attendance, 51
 busing, 45-46
 change, possibilities for, 18, 55
 class size, 52
 community control, 47-49
 compulsory nature of, 18, 51, 437
 curriculum, 50-51
 custodial nature of, 53-55
 decentralization, 47-49
 desegregation, 45-46
 effect, 18
 equality of, 19
 finance, 52-53
 goals, 21-23, 49-50, 53
 history, 18-20, 437
 integration, 45-46
 methods, 50-51
 open education, 44-45
 personnel, 34-40, 437
 principals, 37-39
 problems, 17-18, 20
 public involvement, 30-34
 pupil control, 23-26
 reading, 50, 451-452
 reforms, 41-49, 437
 relations with public, 29-34
 relevance, 43-44
 school as an organization, 18
 school boards, 40
 society, needs of, 19
 teachers, 35-37, 52
 teaching ability, 34
- Radicalism, 419-420
 Reform, resistance to, 449-452
 Remedial instruction, *see* Adult education, Community college
 Research, role of university, 192
 Secondary schools, *see* Public schools, Catholic education
 Segregation, 325-326, 353-354 *See also* Integration
 Sex, 159-160, 381
 Sex stereotypes
 in children's books, 372-377
 in curriculum, 380-381
 in textbooks, 372-377, 382-384, 385
 Socialization, 4-5
 Social status
 and adult education, 248-250
 and vocational education, 281
 Society
 and education, 3, 19

- Society (*cont.*)
 and student activism, 423-424
 and undergraduate education, 141-142
Student activism, 401-402, 447
 civil rights movement, 405
 decline of movement, 424-425
 depression and, 407-408
 development of, 402-405
 disillusionment, 411-414
 early protest, 406
 family conflict and, 420-421
 fascism and, 407-408
 Free Speech Movement, 405
 history, 406
 and the New Frontier, 409
 political consciousness, 406-407
 post-war reaction, 408-409
 radical approach, 419
 radical reformist approach, 420
 reformist approach, 419-420
 society, impact on, 423-424
 university, impact on, 421-423
 university reform, 416-417
 Vietnam, 413
 view of, 409-411
 working class theory, 417
- Teacher Corps**, 298
- Undergraduate education**, 439, 443-444
 administration, 150-152
 administration power, 151-152
 associate professor, 148
 college
 attendance, 161-165
 as community, 140
 defined, 139-140
 as social institution, 140
 structure, 147-152
 community service, 154-155
 control, 152-154
 and the counter-culture, 157-158
 criticisms 155-156
 the department, 147
 discrimination, 163-165
 drug abuse, 158
 enrollment, 14-15
 faculty, 145-150
- faculty and student activism, 160-161
family power, 151-152
finance, 152-154
fraternities, 156-157
goals, 140-142
groups, 156-157
growth, 144-146
history, 143-146
impersonality of, 156
Indian education, 354-359
in loco parentis, challenge to concept, 158-159
instructor, 149
 introductory courses, staffing of, 149
 political organizations, 156-157
 private institutions, 146-147
 professional training, 245-246
 professor, 148
 public institutions, 146-147
 selectivity, 152-154
 sexual activity, 159-160
 social stratification, 162-163
 society, needs, 141-142
 sororities, 156-157
 student activism, 156, 160-161 *See also Student activism*
 students, in-between status of, 160
 teaching assistants, 149
 tenure, 147, 148-149
 women, 385-389 *See also Women's education*
- United States Commission on Civil Rights**, 299
- Underprivileged students**, 113-116
- Unionism**, 9-10
- University education**, *see Graduate education, Undergraduate education*
- Vietnam, 413
- Vocational education**, 441-442
 committed institutions, 286
 and community colleges, 103-104
 246
 control, 282-285
 defined, 274-276
 educators, 277-281, 288-289

expansion, 285-286
expertise, 289-290
federal aid, 276-277, 287
history, 271-272
importance of, 276-277
national needs, 273-274
occupation as determinant of social status, 281
prestige, 277-278
scope, 272-273
skill centers, 284
social problems, 287
social status, 281
social stratification, 288-289
students, 281-282
students, achievement, 281
Vouchers, 454

Washington Research Project, 299

Women
expectations of, 370
job market, inequalities, 370-372
Women's education, 203-204, 446-447
children's books, stereotyping in, 372-377
curriculum and stereotypes, 380-381
graduate education, problems, 389-391
higher education, problems, 385-389
history, 370, 385-386
incentives to educate women, 370
sex linkage of subject areas, 381
teachers' attitudes, 377-380, 384-385
textbooks, stereotyping in, 372-377, 382-384, 385

- Society (*cont.*)
 and student activism, 423-424
 and undergraduate education, 141-142
 Student activism, 401-402, 447
 civil rights movement, 405
 decline of movement, 424-425
 depression and, 407-408
 development of, 402-405
 disillusionment, 411-414
 early protest, 406
 family conflict and, 420-421
 fascism and, 407-408
 Free Speech Movement, 405
 history, 406
 and the New Frontier, 409
 political consciousness, 406-407
 post-war reaction, 408-409
 radical approach, 419
 radical reformist approach, 420
 reformist approach, 419-420
 society, impact on, 423-424
 university, impact on, 421-423
 university reform, 416-417
 Vietnam, 413
 view of, 409-411
 working class theory, 417
- Teacher Corps, 298
- Undergraduate education, 439, 443-444
 administration, 150-152
 administration power, 151-152
 associate professor, 148
 college
 attendance, 161-165
 as community, 140
 defined, 139-140
 as social institution, 140
 structure, 147-152
 community service, 154-155
 control, 152-154
 and the counter culture, 157-158
 criticisms, 155-156
 the department, 147
 discrimination, 163-165
 drug abuse, 158
 enrollment, 14, 15
 faculty, 148-150
- faculty and student activism, 160-161
 family power, 151-152
 finance, 152-154
 fraternities, 156-157
 goals, 140-142
 groups, 156-157
 growth, 144-146
 history, 143-146
 impersonality of, 156
 Indian education, 354-359
in loco parentis, challenge to concept, 158-159
 instructor, 149
 introductory courses, staffing of, 149
 political organizations, 156-157
 private institutions, 146-147
 professional training, 245-246
 professor, 148
 public institutions, 146-147
 selectivity, 152-154
 sexual activity, 159-160
 social stratification, 162-163
 society, needs, 141-142
 sororities, 156-157
 student activism, 156, 160-161. *See also* Student activism
 students, in-between status of, 160
 teaching assistants, 149
 tenure, 147, 148-149
 women, 385-389 *See also* Women's education
 United States Commission on Civil Rights, 299
 Underprivileged students, 113-116
 Unionism, 9-10
 University education, *see* Graduate education, Undergraduate education
- Vietnam, 413
 Vocational education, 441-442
 committed institutions 286
 and community colleges, 103-104, 246
 control, 282-285
 defined, 274-276
 educators, 277-281, 288-289

expansion, 285-286
expertise, 289-290
federal aid, 276-277, 287
history, 271-272
importance of, 276-277
national needs, 273-274
occupation as determinant of social status, 281
prestige, 277-278
scope, 272-273
skill centers, 284
social problems, 287
social status, 281
social stratification, 288-289
students, 281-282
students, achievement, 281
Vouchers, 454

Washington Research Project, 299

Women
expectations of, 370
job market, inequalities, 370-372
Women's education, 203-204, 446-447
children's books, stereotyping in, 372-377
curriculum and stereotypes, 380-381
graduate education, problems, 389-391
higher education, problems, 385-389
history, 370, 385-386
incentives to educate women, 370
sex linkage of subject areas, 381
teachers' attitudes, 377-380, 384-385
textbooks, stereotyping in, 372-377, 382-384, 385

their pupils equal or surpass national norms, but the public is not told that such norms merely describe levels of accomplishment, without indicating whether these levels are good or bad. People who criticize the reading program are called busybodies, uninformed, or "intellectual snobs who want us to return to the grim old days of the little red schoolhouse."

Finally, the school may try to shift the blame from itself and its possible inadequacies to the pupil. For example, a child who does not learn to read may be diagnosed as "dyslexic." Former pejorative terms like "dumb" or "stupid" are no longer acceptable, but the newer labels, though more subtle, can also be more devastating to the student and useful to the school because they have an aura of scientific objectivity combined with implications of physical defects in the child.

We can expect schools and colleges to continue more or less as they are now, in spite of such innovations as ethnic studies, modular scheduling, schools without failure, computerized instruction, open education, student initiated courses, minischools, and three on-two teaching. Superficial modifications may occur—indeed, some educational institutions seem to thrive on the latest fads—but really basic reforms are likely to be resisted.

Alternative Schools

How, then, can education be improved? An indirect approach may work better than a direct, frontal assault. Some reforms may be more easily brought about by creating new organizations than by trying to change existing ones. It may be simpler to set up independent new programs. We do not advocate total abandonment of existing schools and colleges, which, in most instances, should be maintained. Instead, specific functions, like reading or vocational training, could be handed over to these new organizations. In addition to providing better instruction for individual students, the success of new programs, or even their existence, would generate pressures for reforms within established institutions. Eventually, the new organizations and programs, after their procedures have been firmly established, could be absorbed into the present schools and colleges.

There are precedents in the "double headed" schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These consisted of two independent schools operating in the same building, one for reading and grammar, the other for arithmetic and writing. They usually taught the same children, who were divided into two groups, attending one school in the morning and

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way to keep them in existence and would help them to minimize tuition charges Another method of assistance to private schools would be vouchers entitling students to a year of free education in the schools they—or their parents—choose This education would be paid for by the same local, state, and national governments that now pay for the public schools, the only difference being that under a voucher system, pupils could go to a private or parochial school if they wanted to, instead of to the public schools

Some people fear that vouchers will destroy the public schools This possibility could be avoided by limiting the number of vouchers offered A restricted voucher system would give some choice to pupils and some *incentive to public schools, without creating the possibility that all pupils would desert the public schools* Vouchers could be issued at random, on a lottery basis, perhaps to 20 percent of the pupils in selected areas, primarily in ghettos but with enough in more affluent neighborhoods to encourage improvement in middle class schools, too This would also gain the support of middle class people for the program

A voucher system of this sort would have the beneficial effect of stimulating public schools to be more receptive to possible improvements, while still leaving the public schools intact and under the direction of professional educators There is no real reason, aside from inertia and vested interests in present methods, why public schools could not set up their own alternative schools within the district, or establish experimental programs within the same school For example, one first grade class could offer reading instruction by a phonics method while another class in the same school could offer the more typical word recognition methods This "model subsystems" approach is already being tried in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Boston, Washington, D C , and elsewhere⁸

Examining Assumptions

While the authors are not optimistic about the chances for reform, they nonetheless believe that frank discussion of the problems is necessary Adult educators must alert their students to the major trends in society Blacks and whites should state their views frankly, as a first step toward working out mutually acceptable solutions to racial issues Sex bias should be called to the attention of teachers and parents Undergraduates should be given an accurate picture of both the advantages and difficulties of graduate education

These writers are urging us to examine the basic issues They are warning us about the common tendency to ignore an unpleasant truth